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CONTAINING

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF GILBERT BURNET, THE HISTORIAN. Edited from an eighteenth-century transcript in the possession of EARL SPENCER by MISS H. C. FOXCROFT.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PAPERS OF THOMAS WOODCOCK (*ob.* 1695). Edited for the Royal Historical Society from the contemporary transcript by DR. JOHN HALL, of Kipping, Thornton, near Bradford, Co. Yorks, by G. C. MOORE SMITH, M.A.

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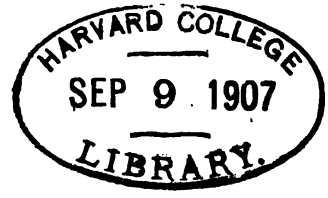

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SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF GILBERT BURNET, THE HISTORIAN.[1]

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE following letters are here given, by kind permission, on the authority of a transcript taken in the year 1893, at the instance of the present writer, from a manuscript copy-letter-book, presumably of eighteenth-century date, preserved among the Spencer Archives.[2] The transcript was not collated by the present writer, who can therefore assume no responsibility as to its entire accuracy. It seems, however, to have been very carefully executed. The originals, which have disappeared, were addressed, between January and September 1680, to George Savile, Earl of Halifax ('The Trimmer'), then in temporary retirement at Rufford Abbey. The answers of Lord Halifax, unfortunately, have not been recovered.

The circumstances in which the correspondence originated may be briefly summarised. An intimacy which Burnet, as chaplain to the Master of the Rolls, and one of the most eloquent of the great London preachers, had contracted with the leaders of the 'Country' party, or Parliamentary Opposition, had been accentuated, in the course of the year 1679, by the opportune appearance of his first volume on the English Reformation; which was published during the very throes of the 'Popish Plot' agitation. Of that affair the immediate results had been, first, the sudden accession of the

[1] These letters have been occasionally quoted in the *Life of Halifax*, vol. i. chap. vii. (Longmans, 1898); and a few brief quotations are included in chapter v. of a Life of Burnet now in the press: both by the present editor.

[2] Box 31, bundle 11. (See the brief 'Catalogue of the Spencer MSS.', *Hist. MSS. Comm. Second Report*, Appendix, p. 15.)

'Country' party to power; secondly, the inception in its more extreme ranks of a project for excluding the Duke of York from the order of succession to the Crown. To this scheme Lord Halifax, and it would appear at this period Burnet also, presented an uncompromising opposition. During the summer the political situation had become increasingly strained; matters, on more than one occasion, had approached a dead-lock; and about September Lord Halifax (whose position appeared particularly invidious) had fallen ill, as an effect, it was maintained, of political chagrin. Throughout the great man's indisposition Burnet, to whom Halifax had been exceedingly kind,[1] had been constant in attendance; but on this occasion he confined himself, as he assures us, to the exercise of his professional functions; and was gratified by finding that Halifax, though reputed an Atheist, betrayed a far stronger sense of religion than Burnet had been led to suppose.[2] The *orthodoxy* of his opinions, however, seems to have been by no means equally clear;[3] and Burnet throughout these letters displays an appropriate concern for the spiritual interests of his correspondent.

In January $\frac{1679}{1680}$, disgusted by the decline of his own influence and the increasing preponderance of reactionary councils, in the person of the Duke of York, Lord Halifax had left town. His withdrawal naturally excited much attention; and since his action in the great 'Exclusion' struggle which was seen to impend became thus problematical, politicians of every shade soon rivalled one another—and Gilbert Burnet—in their epistolary attentions.[4]

Under these circumstances the letters of Burnet have for us a threefold interest. Ostensibly 'newsletters' they reveal, so to say, his subsequent History 'in the making'; and show us something of the tireless energy with which, throughout life, he collected political gossip. They illustrate, moreover, an interval which is very briefly dismissed in the pages of the published narrative;[5] and they throw direct contemporary light on Burnet's earlier relations with a statesman to whom he eventually devoted some rather acrimonious pages. H. C. F.

[1] *Hist. Reform.* ed. Pocock, ii. 5.
[2] *History of My Own Time*, ed. Airy, ii. 246-7.
[3] See *ibid.* i. 484.
[4] *Life of Halifax*, chapter vii. passim.
[5] *Hist. of My Own Time*, ii. 247-254.

Gilbert Burnet to the Earl of Halifax.

I.

Febry ye 16. 1679 [80].[1]

My Lord,

If I had not been encourag'd by my Lady[2] to hope for your Lordships pardon, I should not have presumed to have given you any trouble in this manner. I cannot but think your Lordship very happy in being so long retir'd from the Lies and follies of this Place, and enjoying the ease of privacy with the innocent Diversions that the Country affords, but your greatest advantage, which is most to be envied, is the entertainment your own thoughts give you now, that they are less entangled, or heated, and these I am confident, finding nothing abroad equall to them will center in somewhat else, which can only make a Man, Master of himself and of all things without him.[3] I know not how your Lord[p] will censure me for telling you any [thing?] that is stirring here, who must needs know certainties from better hands. It is said Bointon of York comes in, a Judge in the room voided by the Supersedeas that was seal'd on Saterday for Pemberton.[4] there is a discourse, yet among few hands, but not altogether groundless, of a consultation among the Judges how the Kings necessities might be supplied in the Intervalls of Parliament. Three, some say, Four deliver'd their opinions, that it could not be so; the rest did not speak, but one that understands things well, assured me this was only an officiousness of my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs who is now in most mighty favour,[5] and as he brought in Weston, so is he said to bring in this Bointon, who has only practis'd in Yorkshire, and so is scarce known here. The Duke of Lauderdale[6] is melancholly upon the Duke's coming up,[7] and did not know of it, till it was publish'd, but what reason he has, I dont know, for I

[1] Lord Halifax left town between January 11 and January 23, 1679-80 (*Life*, i. 203).

[2] Gertrude Pierrepoint, second wife of Lord Halifax.

[3] Religion?

[4] Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

[5] He was at this moment in credit at Court, having just cast doubts upon the revelations of Oates, which he had at first endorsed. (Pollock's *Popish Plot*, pp. 347–60.)

[6] Secretary for Scotland.

[7] *I.e.* the Duke of York's return from Scotland, to which he had been relegated by the influence of the 'Country' party, October 27, 1679.

hear nothing from Scotland that may give him cause of fear. The last Letters from Holland speaks of the continuance of their fears of some Impression from France. I hear the new Farm of the Excise is almost agreed on, Sir John Baber [1] I hear is a great man in it, and that it will yield 500,000l. notwithstanding the expiring of the additional excise. There is great discourse of setting on the execution of the Laws against Nonconformists, and that the King has said, of late, that their carriage this last year has been such, that they have no reason to expect any favour from him, and that he will take all the advantage against them the Law will give him, but others assure me these are only the heats of discourse, and that there is no such thing intended.

I find by one of the Lords that Petition'd for a Parliament, that they are consulting about renewing the Petition and are indeed resolv'd on it.[2] and now my Lord I must crave your mercy for this Impertinency, but I am so accustom'd to your goodness, that I am not afraid of your severity. I should be mightily pleas'd with myself if there were anything wherein I could be commanded by your Lordship for as you have oblig'd me beyond example, so there are few things of that nature that I do more earnestly desire than to deserve the continuance of your favour to your most

Humble G. BURNET.

[The secession of Lord Halifax and the other Country leaders, had thrown the weight of affairs on three little-known officials—contemptuously described as the 'Chits'; of whom the supple Lord Sunderland, brother-in-law to Halifax, was the principal. Alarmed at the responsibility it incurred in face of an angry Opposition, this 'Ministry of fears and expedients' (and even, to some extent, the Duke of York himself) evinced an apparent anxiety to conciliate public opinion. In foreign policy, an Alliance against France was regarded as essentially popular, and efforts were made to conclude treaties with Spain and the Protestant powers before the meeting of Parliament.[3] To this the following letter refers.]

[1] One of the heads of the Dissenting interest. See Kennett, *Com. Hist.* iii. 286.

[2] See *Hist. O. T.* ii. 249. The country seemed at the moment divided between 'Petitioners' who presented petitions to the King for the meeting of Parliament, and 'Abhorrers,' whose counter-addresses expressed 'Abhorrence' of such interference with the King's prerogative. *Hist.* ii. 248–9.

[3] Klopp, *Fall d. Hauses Stuart*, ii. 237–55, 266–9.

II.

[Feb. 27 ?]

When I was expecting your Lordships pardon, you are so Indulgent to me as to send me thanks; by this I see you have already brought yourself to bear one of the uneasiest parts of a Country Life, not only to endure the trouble of an impertinent visitant, but to give thanks for it, but as this Civility commonly begets a new trouble, so your Lordship has yourself to blame, if you draw upon you the vexation of many importunate visits from me in this kind. I shall endeavour to make them as short as may be, and the least signification of your being weary of them delivers you from them, but I am put in hope that they shall determine upon a better account, and that a session of Parliament[1] shall bring you up in April, which has been more talk'd of this week. The occasion of it, I suppose is, that on Sunday last, the Dutch and Spanish Ambassadors were with the King. The former told him that his masters desir'd to be speedily inform'd on what services [termes ?] an Alliance may be finally contracted, for they could be no longer in such an undetermin'd condition as they are now in. The latter said, that he had orders to tell the King, that if he did not conclude a firm alliance for the Preservation of what remain'd in Flanders, his master would treat with the French for delivering it up. the King would have put it off, till some returns came from Germany, but the Spaniard assur'd him an agent was expected every hour from the Emperour, and that no doubt was to be made, but they would all concurr, if matters were once agreed between the King and the States. now since, the Discourse at Whitehall is all of the Alliances now making up. This if a mistake, is of the Spanish Ambassadors making, for my author whom I very well believe, had all from him. I need not trouble your Lordship with the recital of the great Grief at the Duke and Dutchess[2] parting from Scotland, which in good truth was extraordinary, nor with the kind welcome they have found here. The Day after the Duke went aboard the orders that were sent down Two months ago about the new model of the Militia which he had thought fit to

[1] The principal cause of the Earl's retirement had been the decision of the Government, at the instance of the Duke of York, to defer the meeting of Parliament from October 1679 for a whole year. (See *Life of Halifax*, i. 196, 200, 201, 202, 203).

[2] Of York.

keep up, were read in Council to the amazement of all people, who concluded the business was laid aside, and judg'd not sensible [feasible?] The Lord Bergeny[1] that has been long a prisoner, is to be brought to his Tryal on Monday next, since the arrivals a new message was sent to the Duke of Monmouth[2] and said to be, by the Duke's mediation, that if he would ask the Kings pardon and live well with the Duke and the Kings Ministers he shall be restor'd to all again. his answer as himself reported it, was, that he would submit in everything to the King, but would have nothing to do with the Duke, nor with the Dutchess of Portsmouth.[3] he has also forbid his Lady to see the Duke.[4] whether this answer or something else occasion'd it, I know not, but the King has scarce been known in worse humour than he was in yesterday. There is somewhat of the nature of an Apology for the Duke of Monmouth in the Press, or ready for it, clearing him of all designs, particularly of aspiring to the Crown. I hear there is an order sent to the Judges that if any Priests are try'd on the Circuits,[5] they give not orders for the Execution till the King is first acquainted with it. this puts me in mind of what I writt before concerning a Discourse amongst the Judges, which is now much talked of, but Sir Robert Atkins protests it is a forgery all over, and there is no reason to think he would prevaricate on that head.[6] A Frenchman just now come over being with Mr. Boyle[7] two days ago, says, there are in several places 6000 prisoners[8] clapt up and that it is almost incredible how universally that barbarous Cruelty has over run France.

But now my Lord I am afraid my visit grows too long, yet I

[1] For this incident see *Hist.* ii. 311–2.

[2] Who had returned on November 28, 1679, without leave, from Holland whither he had repaired about September 10, by his Father's command, in consequence of his supposed schemes of political ambition.

[3] Louise de la Querouaille, reigning mistress of the King.

[4] It is said that Monmouth alleged—very unfoundedly—reasons of jealousy for this step. See Roberts' *Life of Monmouth*, i. 125–6.

[5] It was at this time, of course, death for a Roman priest to execute his functions in England. Several priests had been executed on this count during the preceding year—it is said, with the concurrence of Halifax. (See *Life*, i. 160.)

[6] A judge of the Common Pleas from April 15, 1672, to February 6, 1680, when he received his quietus on account of his popular sympathies [Foss' *Lives of the Judges*, p. 25.]

[7] Robert Boyle, the famous chemist.

[8] The proceedings against the Protestants (which culminated with the Revocation of the Edict) had commenced.

cannot break it off, without acknowledging the great Honour you do me, when you allow me a share in your good opinion, your Lordship being perhaps the Person in the world I admire the most, and indeed, when one thing [1] comes to be added to your other excellent Qualities, which must give life and lustre to all the rest, for which I daily long and Pray, you will then Captivate all who know you, and I must freely tell you, all is nothing, without that, there the Mind rests, and enjoys an entire quiet, of which that your Lordship may have a large share, together with all other things that can make you or yours happy is the most ernest wish of your lordships most obedient G. BURNET.

III.

March y^{e} 6th [$\frac{1672}{80}$].

My Lord if this comes too soon after my last Impertinence, I must in part blame your Lordship for it, since you encourag'd me to it, by telling me that, the frequenter my Letters were, they were so much the more acceptable, and there being scarce any in the World whose satisfaction I am more naturally inclined to endeavour, your Lordship must not be too severe to me, for being so saucy with you as to hold you thus a minute or two once a week, and that I put you to some small pennance in this time of Lent. I need the greater allowance because I now trouble you, when I have so little to entertain you with, but being resolv'd once a week to enquire after your Lordship, and to tell you at least this peice of news, that there is little or none stirring, which in such times, is, perhaps one of the best things one can hear, I do again cast myself on your Goodness, of which I have made so many, and such trying experiments, that I can never dispair of my pardon how faulty soever I may be. It is generally thought that the match of Lady Anne [2] with the young Duke of Hanover,[3] is concluded, but though this does engage the King and Duke more deeply in the concerns of the Empire, I do not find it is so much consider'd here in Town as it ought to be, all the discourse that held for a week about a meeting of Parliament is now fallen, but it is given out, that the next Prorogation will be a short one,

[1] Obviously he means more profound religious convictions.
[2] The Duke of York's daughter, afterwards Queen.
[3] Afterwards George I. of England.

but still with design not to meet the Parliament till November, if some accident does not fall in. There is great notice taken of Sir John Babers [1] being so often in private with the King, the Duke, and the Earl of Sunderland; and the Clergy at Court have some apprehensions of it, as if there were some treating with the Presbyterians, but whether there is anything more than that he is managing the project of the new Farm of the Excise I do not know. The Duke does mightily commend the Duke of Lauderdales Government in Scotland and has supported him much, which I hear he has needed much, for the Earl of Sunderland, upon his Friend the Earl of Middletons account, has engag'd a Great Lady against him.[2] he does decline apacé in his memory and Understanding, but the Duke will preserve him, and all his party, the design of Modelling the Militia in Scotland goes on, but the main part of it seems impractible, That Those who send out the Horse or Foot, be oblig'd to send always the same men, for if Masters are bound to keep their Servants, it would soon become very uneasy. The Lord Bergenys trial is put off a week longer, they are proceeding according to the Rigour of the law against such as did not come last Summer to the Post, during the Rebellion.[3] I may add to your lordships trouble and make the matter worse by an Apology, but I am sure I cannot make it better, therefore I have nothing to add but that I am

your lordships S[ervan]t
BURNET.

IV.

March 13, 1680.

Your Lordship ends your letter with a mention of Remorse and Repentance, but I am afraid your remorse must lie chiefly upon your encouraging me in this weekly Persecution, and then the Repentance will fall to my share, which I do not deny will be very uneasy to me, for I deal with you, as those that traded first

[1] See *ante*, p. 4, note 1.

[2] 'Its sayd there has been some disquiet amongst the great ones, . . . and that yr relation [Sunderland] has his part in it; some heates having been between him and Lawthesdale, and such as does refine will not have them principalls but a great man [the Duke of York?] and a woman [the Duchess of Portsmouth?] originally concerned in it.' (Sir William Hickman to the Earl of Halifax, March 21. Spencer MSS., box 31, bundle 36.)

[3] Bothwell Bridge.

to the West indies, who for Bells and Glass beads brought over Gold, so if I, by sending you the Talk of a busy lying Town can furnish myself with the excellent returns your Lordship sends me of your own Thoughts that comes from a richer mine than any the Indies know, I cannot apprehend the loss of so advantagious a correspondence but with great regrett, yet sure you lose nothing by all the wealth you send me, and hope you will not forbid my visiting you in that quiet harbour where you live now so secure, but now the Allegory has carried me too far were it even in a Sermon. I do not wonder that a mind so easy as yours is, should delight in calms, for the restlessness of some mens genius must flow from the want of quiet at home, and so they avoid the clamours within by the crowd and noise about them. The most generous ambition of a great mind is to do good, and when the hopes or probabilities of that vanish, no wonder such do more easily go off a more publick Stage, and having nothing left for their Country but their good wishes, retire to a more contracted sphere, where still their Inclinations to do good follows them, and therefore they do not long to hear mischief, though perhaps nothing would make others feel the want of them more sensibly. But thongh this is a vanity that has corrupted some of the greatest minds, I know your Lordship is above it, and therefore will not be the less pleas'd with my Letter that I can tell you no criticall nor tragicall Stories in it. On Monday last when Duncomb and his Parteners read the Propositions for collecting the Excise, there were great expectations of the issue of it, for it was believ'd, they would have advanc'd 200,000[1] upon that security, and none doubted but Dashwoods Farm would have been broken; but when all that, vanished, it has been since surmis'd that the disapointment of this money may put them to such straits that a Parliament must meet. Yet all this seems to be a Reckoning without the Host; for by a great many circumstances it is plain there is no thoughts of a Parliament before Winter, if then. there were also great apprehensions of somewhat to follow on the King's going to Sup at my Lord Mayors,[1] and many run thither, fancying I know not what, but there was nothing in it. The business in Scotland goes on in modelling the Militia, there are only to be Lieutenants

[1] An account of this singularly convivial banquet is given by Dorothy Lady Sunderland in a letter of March 12. (Blencowe's *Diary of . . . the Hon. Henry Sidney*, i. 303–6.)

of Horse and Foot, and the inferior officers: but no Superior Officers till there is occasion to use them, and the Officers talk very idly of their coming ere long to a warmer climate. Two days before the Duke left Scotland the Marquisses of Athol, and Huntly, and eight or ten Noblemen, and Gentlemen, Tarbot in particular came to the Duke and did, in their own names and in the names of their Friends make offer of their lives and fortunes to serve the King and the Duke in their own way, without any reserve or asking the ground of the Quarrell, those were their words, as it is written to me, but whether this will be only a Meteor, or break out in a Storm, I am not wise enough to judge. The Earl of Rothes[1] and the Earl of Queensberry are upon their journey, I hear old age seizes fast upon the Duke of Lauderdale, both in Body and Mind, but he seems confident the Duke will hold him up as long as he lives; and get his Nephew Mr. Maitland to succeed him, and upon all occasions makes himself merry on the Earl of Sunderland, for endeavouring to set up the Earl of Middleton. I need say nothing to you of the extravagance of the Earl of Arran who is now in Flanders, he found he was to be order'd to ask Mr. Seymours[2] pardon if he had gone to the Tower, and that, he would not submit to, but I hear he has sent to Mr. Seymour to come and meet him in Flanders, but I believe Mr. Seymour is a wiser man than to go so far on such an errand,[3] since he declin'd to go to meet the Earl of Rochester[4] on the same occasion the other day, by Arlington Gardens, where Lord Rochester staid for him 3 hours. I am sure I deserve a chiding for disturbing your quiet with this scribble, but it is so establish'd that no importunity of mine, can disturb it, yet my fault is not a whit the less, for which I lie at your feet and submit to whatever punishment you will inflict on your most faithfull G. BURNET.

V.

March 20th, $16\frac{79}{80}$.

I write now with more than ordinary assurance that I shall be easily forgiven, since I will be very short, having nothing to tell

[1] See his character in Burnet *sub anno* 1660, i. 186.
[2] Probably Edward Seymour, afterwards 4th Bart. of Berry Pomeroy.
[3] Presumably, a duel.
[4] John Wilmot, the profligate Earl of Rochester, for whom see *infra*.

you, to interrupt the easy course of your thoughts, for there is now so little news stirring, that there is not so much [as ?] any Lies going about. so that our busy newsmongers can find nothing to hold up discourse, but must either sit silent and gravely say nothing, or must refresh themselves with repeating old stories, and prophesying what will come to pass. The advances the Kings of Sweeden and Poland are making towards the emancipating their Crowns from the Fetters they seem to be under, gives some small comfort to the Coffeehouses, and all the Topicks of Arbitrary Government come out on such an occasion. So how gentle soever the Season may be, in the Country, it is more temperate in Town than I have ever known it, only poor Duke Lauderdale I hear is ill, and that his Dutchess who staid behind him in Town, was sent for last night. it will be a great pity if he should not live till the King returns [1] that he may go off with one satisfaction more, for he has very openly said, That ere the King returns, the Earl of Sunderland will be no more Secretary. the Raillerie in Whitehall is, upon the Dutchess of Portsmouths going to pull down her Lodgings [2] and to build them anew. she has sent to the Dutchess of Richmond,[3] to look to her house that it be not spoiled, since she is to build, so it seems she feels none of the wants of the Treasury. I cannot find out matter for a longer Letter, and indeed I can scarce pardon myself for holding you so long with such stuff, but I hope this will find you after dinner, or at some idle hour in which a trifle will be more tollerable, but I must not abuse your patience too much. I am, &c., &c.

VI.

March 27th, 1680.

It seems your Lordship has abundance of leisure in the Country, that you have the patience not only to read, what I write, but to make large returns, though I can scarce free myself from some apprehensions of my being uneasy to you by writing so oft as I do, of which if you do not freely tell me so, it is not like the rest of your Lordships goodness to me. Your prognostic holds but too

[1] The Court appears to have been at Newmarket.

[2] Evelyn, Diary Oct. 4, 1683, says her magnificent apartments were two or three times rebuilt, in obedience to her caprice.

[3] Presumably 'La belle Stuart.'

sure, That the great calm we were in, might be the forerunner of a Storm. for the weather is not more sensibly alter'd, since the Thunder on Thursday last, which has cool'd the air mightily, than the Temper of this place has been this last week. I will tell your Lordship nothing that is in print about the Two grand subjects of our discourse here, the business of the Prentices,[1] and of Ireland: for the first, it appears Nevil Payne[2] was in it, and I find several of the Privy Councill look on it as a matter of Importance, and that the Pageantry design'd for the 29th of May was but a colour to draw them together. they talk of greater numbers that were listed which I see no good authority for, many thousands are spoken of, it seems very likely some affronts would have been put upon some Persons, which might have occasion'd a tumult, and that advantages would have been made of that. But what truth soever may be in these surmizes, they are generally believ'd, and like to produce considerable effects here, for last night about 40 eminent Men met in the City, and agreed to go and Petition my Lord Mayor for a Common Hall for the security of the City; and it is thought that may produce a new Petition. for it is said, My Lord Mayor is still, what he was in these affairs. The business of Ireland[3] is spoken of by all the Privy Counsellors as a thing of great importance, and to which they seem to give great credit, this I am sure is the language both of my Lord Chancellor, Lord President, E. Bridgewater and Earl Essex,[4] but the particulars are kept secret, as it is very fit they should be. by what is let fall to some, it seems to be a purely Irish design and an absolute revolt from the English to the French Government, nor do I hear of any reflections that are made by this discovery either on the Government or on the Duke, but a few days will bring out more. Some foreign Ministers speak positively of the Parliaments Sitting in April, tho' no body gives credit to it, and the Kings Speech at the last Prorogation, makes them reckon that the Parliament is not to sit, since there is no Proclamation giving notice of it, whereas, others on the other hand argues, that, it is to Sit, since there is no

[1] A riot, which some supposed to have been designed in order to release the Popish Lords imprisoned in the Tower on account of the Popish Plot. *Life of Shaftesbury*, by Christie, ii. 362.

[2] See Pollock, *Popish Plot*, p. 206.

[3] A supposed plot emphasized by Lord Shaftesbury. See his *Life*, ii. 363-4.

[4] Who was supposed to aim at supplanting Ormond, the Lord-Lieutenant, whom he had preceded in that office.

Proclamation to the Contrary. One thing looks like a longer Prorogation, that the Duke of Lauderdale, as I hear, prevailed with the King to give notice to the University of Cambridge that, they should chuse their Chancellor, and instead of the Duke of Monmouth, chuse him. but it is said, this cannot be done, for they cannot make the change but once in two years, and since they confirm'd him last Summer, he cannot be changed till Summer come Twelvemonth. the Duke of Lauderdale is ill of a swelling in his Legs, he seems to be in a very visible declination of health, and of somewhat that is better than health,[1] yet his Physitians do not apprehend any sudden change, every [one ?] is now satisfied that the discourse concerning the Earl of Sunderland had not other ground but what the Duke of Lauderdale gave it. I hear the Duke of Buckingham is come over, and intends to present the Earl of Derby and some others for the conspiracy against him next Term. Since I began to write to your Lordship, one has been with me, that has seen most of the Prentices depositions, and he has assur'd me, on his honour the thing is of great importance, and that they who trained in, the Prentices made them believe there were thirty five thousand in and about London. but all that they understood, was only a Procession such as that was, at the Burning of the Pope,[2] but this being secretly manag'd by the Papists, it is concluded that a farther design lay hid under it. Thus I have disturb'd [you ?] with the noise of the town, but your happiness in the Country is, that, when the weather is hot you have always some fresh air to cool you, so when you hear such troublesome tidings you can lose the remembrance of them in some pleasant diversion, whereas we, who must drudge on in Town, as we must melt away in the heat, so our diversions is only to talk of those melancholy subjects, and inflame a heat of which we are already but too much feverish. The Coffee houses were in a most languishing condition before, this matter has brought them in heart again, and you never saw a more sensible alteration in the Country after a great rain than this makes in some people's looks. but if I go on, I am afraid your Lordship will think one of its ill effects is that it has set me so violently a writing, that I cannot hold, but to convince you of the contrary I shall only add that I am,

Your Lordships most &c. G. BURNET.

[1] Reason ?

[2] The form taken by the rejoicing on Queen Elizabeth's day.

VII.

April 3rd, 1680.

I have now, been so long accustom'd to this way of transgressing, that I grow impudent in it, and am like to continue in it, till I receive due reproof from your Lordship. therefore I humbly beg you will not be cruell to yourself by your over indulgence to me. When I wrote last, I knew nothing of the heats of Council about sending blank warrants to Ireland. I hear the Lord President is not yet pacified, the sharpest things pass'd between him and Mr. Hyde,[1] with whom he is not satisfied upon some other score, and I hear there is a making up, betwee[n] him and the Earl of Shaftsbury. The King and Duke talk'd last night at Supper, sharply against Sir William Waller,[2] in the business of the Prentices, as if the Deposition, one of them made of the assistance they expected from the Guards, had been dictated to him by Sir William Waller, the whole matter was slightly spoken of, and I must say, as far as I can see into that matter, there is nothing more in it but that some hot indiscreet Cavaliers design'd a Pageant against the Commonwealth party and that some Papists went into it, and promot'd it. The matter of Ireland seems a most desperate business, but is still a great secret, for the Privy Counsellors profess they know nothing of it further than that it is resolv'd to examine it here, and that every thing will be done for bringing over of witnesses, that the Committee are satisfied, last night, there was a new examination of the Boy in the business of the Duke of Buckingham[3] who now returns to his first evidence against the Duke so to put an end to it, and to put it to a trial, the Attorney General was order'd to indite the Duke of Bucks of Sodomy, and then the whole matter will be understood. My Lord Mayor has put off the motion for a Common Council till the things now under examination be better understood, for this, some treat him with their usual civility to every one who does not in all things submit to them. but he says neither good usage on the one hand, nor ill usage on the other shall make him depart from his principles. the Duke of Lauderdale

[1] Afterwards Earl of Rochester; and one of the 'Chits,' *i.e.* the governing Cabal.

[2] Amagistrate, famous for his anti-Popish zeal.

[3] George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham. See Professor Firth's article in *Dict. Nat. Biography*.

continues ill, some think it a flying gout, others a Dropsy, he flies out often into such indecent fits of rage that some think his head is affect'd. The Earl of Rothes will be here to night, a disorder in the North of England has held him almost a week longer on the Road than he intended. it is believed the Duke will bring him in, to have the great Stroke in Scotch Affairs. I could whisper a reason for this, which I had rather you should understand, than have it told you by me. There was a strange Story published yesterday in Coffee houses, of which, though I believe not a little, yet the setting such things abroad, may be done on design to see how the like might take another time, it was said, that Cosens Bishop of Durham had left a paper seal'd in Sir Gilbert Gerrard's hands, with a charge not to open it till the King was dead. but he had been of late wrought on to open it, and finds it a certificate of that Bishop's having married the King to the Duke of Monmouth's Mother,[1] this I had from a Person of Honour, who heard it publish'd in the Coffee house. one thing about the Irish affair I shall add, that I was told, there is nothing now discover'd of a fresh date, but what was transacted about two years ago, when the Irish believ'd we were engaging in a war with the French, upon which they were treating with that crown. It is said, the League the French have design'd with the Crowns of Sweeden and Denmark is ended, and that those Kings are now Pensioners of France, which will much disorder the Princes of Germany. It is still doubtfull what the King of France intends to do next Summer in Holland, they speak with the same apprehension of danger from them, that they do of distrust of our being able to help them. The Commissions for the new Officers in Scotland were sign'd, but I hear there is no advance made in that affair, they say, they will let it sleep till the seed time is over, and that in Summer the matter will be settled, the true reason is, that they will see what measures are to be taken in this Kingdom before they go further in a matter that will certainly [be] ungratefull here, So long have I wearied you with the foolish talk of this Town, I should make an Apology, but I know I am in noble and kind hands, I will therefore stand to your censure and am

Your Lordship's most humble

[1] This is the celebrated legend of the 'Black Box.'

VIII.

April 10th, 1680.

Since your Lordship is so indulgent to me, I shall henceforth without any sort of excuse continue to inform you of such things as pass here, till you arrive at that pitch of mortification from which you tell me you are at present so far remov'd, but some mistical writers say, the highest degree of mortification is, when a man finds pleasure in that, which pains him; yet I should drive the rallery too far if I thought you thus rais'd to such a wonderfull degree, and therefore since the triffles I sent you are not unwelcome, and you put such a malicious construction on the Apologies, I make, you shall be troubled with no more of them. The business of Ireland is now driven as far as it can go, till the witnesses are brought over, but the Discoverer has a scurvy load upon him, being convict upon record of suborning witnesses; so what witnesses he brings over are under the load of this prejudice. The vis[t] Stafford [1] has been talking again somewhat unseasonably that the Prisoners in the Tower are to be Bail'd the second day of the next Term. There was a discovery made yesterday which will make some noise. there are some appointed to peruse the Jesuits papers, that were seiz'd on, at the first discovery of the Plot, who examining Father Ireland's papers, have found a Day-book of his, with the account of his disbursements, in the year 1678. is written with his own hand, by it, it is evident, he was in London the 19th of August, for several days before, there is nothing set down, he being then with Gentlemen in Staffordshire, but there is an Item, of the 19th of August, of things sent from London to Staffordshire, this, one of those who have search'd it, told me, with great asseverations, it is now given in to the Council. When your Lordship reflects on the endeavours to prove, that he was in Staffordshire, you will then find of what consequence this is.[2] There have been several words let fall upon the publishing the next Prorogation that discover Inclinations to Dissolve this Parliament [3] and to call a new one, when the necessity of Affairs shall require it. There is no sort of news from foreign Parts. Next week letters will be expected from Sir Robert Southwell.[4] The turning

[1] One of the Popish Lords in the Tower, executed in December 1680.
[2] See Pollock's *Popish Plot*, pp. 331, 348.
[3] Which had not then sat!
[4] Our Representative at the Court of Brandenburg.

out of Sir William Waller out of the Commission of the peace occasions much discourse, you may conclude that the Town seis [says ?] he is turn'd out that the Priests and other Papists may again come to Town, and sleep without disturbance, for it is said, that he only sent for a Prisoner to examine him in the presence of his keeper, and that he did nothing in that particular, but what he, and other Justices, do frequently. The renouncing of the petitions [1] are said to be put into the Gazettes, to recover the prejudices which were brought on the Kings Affairs in Foreign parts, by the Presenting them. As for Scotch Affairs, I can tell you nothing but only that your conjecture is right. The Duke of Lauderdale recovers a little. The Duke of Bucks friends say, they will prove the Boy was not drunk, and that the Affidavits were all made as he deliver'd them, and that he, of his own accord sent to the Duchess of Bucks, to tell her that he had been practis'd with but desir'd to be examin'd that he might tell the truth, but the bottom of this business will appear next Term. There has been a whisper all this week and that among no mean persons, that the Duke of Monmouth was to be summon'd to the Council, and be sent from thence to the Tower, but I have reason to believe it is a fiction. and thus I have given you the talk of the Town without any order, as things came into my thoughts, your Lordships prognosticks are as just as your guessings, for men grow calm again, but retain their disposition still to be inflam'd again with every spark that is blown about. how long the fermentation will continue and advance, especially when so many accidents to [do ?] feed it, or how tragically it may end I leave to one of your Lordships great knowledge of mankind to judge, to me it looks very melancholly but to a wise and good man, except he is too great or too Rich, nothing can be much amiss. and for the Herd, they are of so little consequence, that if their folly bring on them the Punishment due for their sins a man cannot lament it much. But though this Philosophy savours too much of a Misanthrope, yet I am not free myself of tender thoughts, when I think what gloomy things seem to threaten us, and that, at no great distance. That a Wise and Gracious Being governs all Human Affairs to excellent ends, and that the Happiness of

[1] These denunciatory addresses were generally known as addresses of Abhorrence, since they expressed the 'abhorrence' of the signatories for the attempts to interfere with Prerogative, involved in the petitions (previously mentioned) for the meeting of Parliament.

another World will more than compensate all the troubles, good men are put to, in this, gives a serenity which no black clouds about us can darken, of which I wish your Lordship a large share, together with every other good thing that can accompany it. I hope your Lordship has so good an opinion of me, that having oblig'd me so highly as you have done, you believe I have so dear and lasting a sense of it as becomes

Your Lordships most humble G. BURNET.

IX.

April 17, 1680.

The town was become so quiet again, till yesterday morning that the business of Mr. Arnold [1] broke out, that I was thinking what to invent to make a decent Letter of, for as I told one that ask'd me news two days ago, I was very well furnish'd with a great deal, but it was about a 130 years old, being now almost all the day long in the Cotton Library in order to a second great Impertinency [2] which I shall now finish in a short time. but for any fresh news I knew none, the return from Ireland, and an answer from Berlin give a prospect of some a coming, and many feed greedily on the hopes of what this may produce. The Earl of Shaftsbury looks on the business of Ireland as very important, and says, those who address'd that person to him would not have put a trifle or a thing that cannot be made out in his hands, and complains mightily of the Earl of Essex, who was at first very much possess'd with a belief of it, and did of a sudden fall from it.[3] But the business of Arnold is like to produce more considerable effects. I need not tell your Lordship particulars for they are in print, only some things I shall add. which at this distance you may perhaps not have so justly stated to you. It is certain they were not Robbers, though, because of some robberies in our fields [4] lately done, some would put it on that, for besides a very good suit he was in, he had a good deal of Gold about him, but

[1] An active Justice of the peace, who had been severely assaulted by an assailant unknown. The affair was at the moment regarded as a continuation of the Popish Plot, a sequel to Godfrey's murder. See Pollock's *Popish Plot*, p. 273.

[2] He alludes to the second volume (published in 1681) of his *History of the Reformation*.

[3] He was convinced of its worthlessness.

[4] Burnet then lived in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

they look'd for nothing. A very considerable Person whispered me yesterday, might it not be order'd by him to be done, to be more certainly revenged on those, on whom it will be cast.[1] but the severe Bruises on his head and breast, and the cut in his throat being from the one ear to the other. the Jugular vein being also cut through, shews the folly and impudence of this allegation, but the knife went not so deep as the Arterys, and the windpipe. All was done in a very little time, for a boy had been sent from one house to another for a little Beer with a candle in his hand, and he had not staid a minute, when coming out, the candle made the Rogues run away. yesterday many going to see him, and Justice Warcup being to take his deposition, put him into some heat, so that his Surgeon was in some apprehensions of a fever, the [he ?] hopes that his wounds are not mortal, but his bruises will trouble him most, how all good men are affected with this, you will find in your own breast, and your experience of mankind will tell you, the use others will make of it. whatever you saw upon Sir Edmund Godfrey's murder your Lordship may imagine now in all mens discourse and carriage. this business is said to be the effect of the Dukes return, and so they say, he will reign, in a word, all that malice can cast on him, is now brought up. Mr. Arnold being to be heard yesterday before the Council, upon a complaint he put in, against one Herbert a Justice of Peace in Monmouthshire for Favouring[2] of Priests, and dealing with a Jaylor to let a Priest after he was condemn'd make his escape, and the Rogues reminding him of Capt. Evans a priest prosecuted and condemn'd chiefly by his means, are such circumstances that it seems more plain in this case than it was in Sir E. Godfreys at first, upon whom the suspicion ought to fall. it was expected there should have been a search this night, to have found out all who were lately wounded in their legs, for one of the Swords slanted through anothers leg, but I hear, they do not look on it as a matter of such importance at Whitehall.[3]

[1] The Papists.

[2] Query 'Harbouring.'

[3] Sir William Coventry and William Hickman (correspondents of Lord Halifax) also dilate upon this curious incident. Coventry mentions that a servant of Evans was suspected; and, on his part, thinks the excitement rather less than over Godfrey's murder. (Letters of this date in Spencer MSS.) A man named Giles was convicted of the attempted murder about July 14. See Luttrell, i. 46, 51, 53, 55, 86, and Pollock, *Popish Plot*, pp. 394–9.

Proclamations are coming out upon it, what effect these will have a little time will discover. This is all I can now entertain your Lordship with, and being so chidden for the Apologies, I thought very just, shall end without any further ceremony

G. BURNET.

X.

[April 24?]

I scarce have matter for a letter, this week, having produc'd nothing. Inquiries after the attempt on Mr. Arnold fill up all discourse; but though there are presumptions against some that are taken up, yet there is no clear evidence [,] some that I ought not to name, have said. it look'd liker a trick of Oats's or Bedloe's to support the Plot, than anything else. One pretended he trac'd the Rogues to a house in the Strand, but now denys it again, and is sent to be disciplin'd in Bridwell. The story of Fitsgerald in Ireland prooves a flamme, for there was no Wall to be found in a place where he said, many writings were built up within a Wall. I saw a Letter from one of Sir Robert Southwell's Company, that says, they are like to have a long Negociation, for though the French Propositions are little consider'd in that Court, yet our Affairs here, makes them very apprehensive that we cannot be a considerable support to them against such a mighty Enemy. The Dutch are now much out of their fears they were in, of any mischief from France this summer, as one of their Colonels writt this week, yet they have strengthen'd their Garrison at Mastricht. All the Town expected a Dissolution this week, which was said to be with design that the Lords in the Tower might be bail'd in the approaching Term. It is probable there will be a Parliament in Scotland, this Summer, the Earl of Rothes will be Commissioner, the Business, will be, to settle the new model of the Militia, to alter the Coronation Oath, to set up the Common Prayer, and to take away all Indulgences that have been given to the Presbiterians party, this is mightily denied by some, and no less confidently said, by others, who are as likely to know it as those who deny it.

The Duke of Lauderdale cannot hinder the Earl of Rothes's advancement, and so there is the appearance of a friendship between them. This is all I have now to offer to your Lordship.

XI.

May 2d, 1680.

A man had need be very intent on his studies that lives near much noise, so in this place of news and talk, it is some happiness to have ones head full of any thing, that either keeps out or soon drives out the impressions which the things he sees, or hears makes upon him, but when this cannot be had without the labour of running up and down, attendance, and dull reading, how much happier is your Lordship that has all this on easier Terms, where every Bird and flower gives you a sweet and easily purchas'd diversion. but those that work in mines, though it is but earth they dig, may bring up some good Metal. I am sure I have cast up much coarse oar, what richer grains may be in it, a little time will discover.[1] In the mean while, I shall be proud of my beads since you esteem [them ?] Pearl. But I cannot sit so close, but the hum of the town finds me out, this week has afforded a good deal of discourse, and now that the Term has brought up company there is talk enough, to one that listens, or but keeps his ears open. The examining Sir Gilbert Gerrard first, and yesterday so many more about the black box,[2] besides a great many other reflections has rais'd one, that is thought may have ill consequences, that this is the Oath Ex Officio condemned by Law, when people are call'd for, without any accusation and requir'd to purge themselves by Oath. and though the importance of the Paper, seems to allow of more strict enquiries, yet others think, this will be made use of if a Parliament meets, which all that are thought to know the Councils, or the Straits they are in, at Court, speak of, as a thing most certain in November, and that there will be no Dissolution. There is now a great want of money for the payment of 15 ships that are returning from the Streights, and have been 30 months there. The King speaks of the Foreign League as a thing that is as good [as] done. and I hear the Elector of Brandenburgh is very willing to join in it. but there is one thing come to the Kings knowledge which will obstruct the meeting of Parliament as much as anything can do. one told me he heard the King say, he knew it was design'd to impeach the Duke,[3] and that he had the Articles in his pocket, this I have

[1] He alludes, of course, to his historical researches.
[2] Supposed to contain the marriage certificate of Monmouth's mother.
[3] Of York.

heard of another way. now it being agreed that the Person impeach'd by the Commons is to be forthwith Committed, it may be expected what effects the knowing this design will have. There is no discovery yet made of the attempt on Mr. Arnold, and as all things cool soon here, so at Court the matter is forgot, or spoken of as a slight thing. The Duke of Bucks does now appear, and a new libel, that looks very like him,[1] and I hear is own'd by him, is as much repeated now, as that on Thomas Earl of Danby was last year, but this is not stuff for me to deal in, and I am confident you want not the entertainment it will give you. There is nothing yet determin'd about our Scotch Affairs. The business of Tangier[2] does much discompose the Merchants who apprehend from those frequent alarms the Moors make, that they are resolv'd to have it, which will be easily done, if they can but purchase some Cannon from the Pyratical Towns that are near them, and if it falls into their hands, it will be the greatest Seat of Piracy that ever was. The business of Ireland is writt of from Dublin as a very solemn great thing. I saw 3 or 4 letters of the 20th of April at my Lady Ranelaghs,[3] that mention it as a thing of great consequence and that it will be clearly made out. others speak slightly of it. 4 Jesuits were brought to Dublin and were kept and examin'd very strictly, by this time they are in England. but by this time I have tir'd you, and so will conclude.

XII.

May ye 8th, 1680.

I can never hope to write to your Lordship more to advantage than now, for I have very little to say, and have no ill news to make you melancholly or thoughtfull, so this will be both short, and not uneasy, two qualities that mine have seldom had hitherto. I shall begin with what I heard last night concerning yourself, that Two of your Friends,[4] who I suppose are still with you, went

[1] This is the Libel on the existing Administration usually attributed to Dryden. See *infra*.

[2] At the moment in our possession, as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza. We abandoned it a few years later.

[3] Katherine, sister of Robert Boyle, the chemist.

[4] Sir William Coventry and probably a Sir Thomas Clarges (brother of the first Duchess Albemarle), long a member of the 'Country' party, whom Sir William mentions in several of his letters as intending a visit.

from hence with a kind message from the Duke to your Lordship, and to invite you again to Town and to Business. The business of Ireland is represented from thence to be a matter of consequence, the Priests I believe are by this time come to Town, so we shall know more in a little time. There has been much talk of one Blondell a Priest who in his sickness should have discover'd somewhat of Sir Edmundbury Godfreys murder, but I cannot find any ground for it at all. A Manifesto is expected concerning the business of the Duke of Monmouth's Mother,[1] which I hear will contain severe reflections on the Duke of Monmouth. It is said that our alliances advance as much as can be expected or desir'd. The Moors have not yet left Tangier, but since they have no Artillery there is no great apprehensions from anything they can do. There is nothing of the Affairs of Scotland brought to any conclusion. And now my Lord, I have told you all I know, I shall only add a new stanza added to the Libell of the Chess Story, which because it has so much wit, and so little abuse in it, I thought it was neither unfit for me to write, nor would it be displeasing to you to read.

So have I seen a King at Chess
His Rooks and Knights withdrawn
His Queen and Bishops in distress
Shifting about from less to less
With here and there a Pawn.[2]

I am your Lordships
most humble,
GILBERT BURNET.

XIII.

May 15th 1680.

The last time I wrote to your Lordship I had very little to say, and there were no ill news then on foot, but now when I have a great deal to tell you, and nothing that is good, I do more unwill-

[1] The Gazettes of April 29 and May 3, Nos. 1507, 1508, had published an account of the 'Black Box' examinations, and the King's denial of the story which affirmed the young Duke's legitimacy.

[2] This is the last stanza of the witty ballad often printed (under the title 'On the young Statesmen') among Dryden's works. It has also been attributed, with more probability, to Lord Dorset. A phrase in Burnet's former letter seems to suggest that he ascribed it to Buckingham, a yet more likely ascription. It was a satire on Sunderland, Hyde, and Godolphin.

ingly give you this trouble. You heard no doubt by the last post of the King's Illness, yesterday all day, we were in good hopes it was at an end, but last night we heard his fit return'd yesterday in the afternoon, the cold fit was short, but the hot was long, it held him in all four hours, but was judged easier than his former. So it is now a form'd quotidian ague, he has taken Charasse his preparation of the Jesuits powder, which is generally thought excellent good. I need not tell you the consternation all people are in, you know mankind too well for that. the Kings going so early to Windsor is blam'd, and it is said my Lady Portsmouth procur'd that, in order to the pulling down her lodgings that they may be rebuilt by Michelmas. he was also many hours a fishing, on Sunday last, and his feet were wet. I hear it has been mov'd in Council to call up all that are of the Privy Council to attend either here, or at Windsor. I shall be sorry this melancholly occasion should bring your Lordship up. The Duke of Monmouth I hear, has got the Earl of Manchester to carry a message to the King full of humble duty expressing his infinite grief for being under his displeasure and chiefly that now he may not attend on him, and desiring that he would reflect on the condition he is in, and on his innocence, I do not know what return is brought. Great notice was taken that on Wednesday last the Examinations concerning the Black Box being like to grow endless, the King cut the matter short, and said he would have no more of that Farce, and upon that, the Duke[1] desir'd there might be some act of State made about it, and that the contrivers and spreaders of it, might be punish'd, but the King said never a word, and all the Board was silent, so the Duke repeated his desire, but still all was silent, then my Lord Chancellor said, he did not see, what more the King could do in that way, but the Attorney General, might be order'd to see, what could be drawn out of the Examinations to found an information on, the Duke upon that, went into his Closet, and those who judge by the looks believe, he was very much troubled at it. The King had at that time a little fit on him, though he dissembl'd it, and it is not known whether his sulleness in that matter was upon deliberation or the effects of a distemper. I believe what I have already wrote does so fill your thoughts, that you will very little consider anything I can add, but since I am writing I shall go on. The business of Ireland grows big, and gains

[1] Of York.

ground in mens belief, besides the four Priests, there is one Fitzgerald, come over, a Gentleman of quality, who though he has been bred a Protestant, yet having lost an estate by the Settlement of Ireland was thought fit to be trusted with the secret, is come over, he is set out by many letters, from several hands with a very worthy character. he gave in his evidence to the Duke of Ormond, and is recommended by him. there came also last night other two persons both of condition, one was a Justice of Peace, the substance of all is, that there was a design of revolting from the Crown of England to France. that Bulls came from Rome absolving them from their allegiance, that they made several applications to the Court of France, that they were to have seiz'd upon Limerick and Gallway, and that a day in November 1678, was set for their gathering together, when Fitzgerald have made his Narrative to the Council, the Earl of Essex said, that he had many circumstantial proofs and advices given him of several passages out of which he could make nothing, not knowing the bottom of the business, but that all these did so exactly agree to the Informations then given in, that he was confident, any that would compare them would be much convinc'd of the truth of the whole affair. The Boyles, and all others that have concerns in Ireland seem fully perswaded of the truth of the business. For Scotland, the commissions for levying the Forces are now all sign'd and sent away, how they will be executed, a little time will tell. The Duke has got an order to be given for settling the business of the Highlanders, which will be a great mortification to the Earl of Argyle.[1] It is generally thought the Duke of Lauderdale's interest declines, but how the Earl of Rothes will maintain that, he now has, I do not know, for he lives so remarkably out of order, that he is every day almost, under some one or other ill effects of his course of life.[2] The hope of a Foreign Alliance lessens much since the Elector of Brandenbourg declares he will be neuter, but the Hambourgh Letters say, he has clos'd with France, and that he did expostulate severely with Sir Robert Southwell upon several things for which he charg'd our Court. Letters from Spain say the King and Queen [3]

[1] Whose committal, conviction, condemnation, and escape from prison took place during the ensuing year.

[2] He died as the result of excessive intemperance, July 1681. *Hist.* ed. Airy, ii. 310.

[3] 'Mademoiselle' d'Orleans, daughter of 'Madame' (Princess Henrietta of England). She had been married just a year to Charles II. of Spain.

there, are on very ill terms, that she cannot submit to the gravity of that Court, that among other instances of the King's displeasure at her, he wrung off a Parrot's neck in which she took much pleasure. and now I am sure you are weary since I have not had the luck to entertain you with one pleasant subject.

XIV.

May ye 29th 1680.

If I durst be so bold as to complain of your Lordship I would adventure to do it, upon your writing twice to me so near one another: as if my enquiring after your not writing had exacted it. I thought once, in revenge, to have wrote to you by the Tuesdays Post, but that would have been too severe a punishment for so kind a fault. hereafter I humbly beg your Lordship will not const[r]ain yourself to write, but when you have a mind to it, and abundance of leisure, only if you do it not yourself once a fortnight, order any of your servants to let me know that mine are come to your hands. The business of Tangier is now the great subject of discourse. The Moors are resolv'd to have it, if it be possible, they lodge in trenches ten foot deep, and so broad, so that they are cover'd from the Cannon; there are great complaints of the Earl of Inchequins[1] carriage, Coll Dunghen says, that being with the Alcaide upon a party, he ask'd him if the King and the Parliament were yet reconcil'd, and seem'd to understand our affairs. The charge of the supplies to be sent thither will come at present to 30,000l though they do not raise new men here in the room of those they send, but so much more, if that is to be done, and after all, by the accounts sent over, it is generally believ'd the Town will be lost. Much notice was taken of the Kings sending on Tuesday night to excuse himself to the Earl of Bedford[2] that he would not Dine with him on Wednesday, having invited himself 3 days before, but I hear the Earl of Bedford did not upon that, invite the Duke, and that occasion'd the change of the King's mind. The King seems to be in good health, but his colour is not good, and he was sullen and avoided the speaking with almost everybody: so that the Commissioners of the Admiralty, though they had important busi-

[1] The Governor (a Papist).

[2] A leading member of the Exclusion party, and father of the celebrated William, Lord Russell.

ness, could not speak with him. But that which surpris'd people most, was, his examining the Earl of Macclesfield upon his knowledge of the Duke of Monmouths Mother, being a whore to other people, which that Earl did not remember, though the King gave him a token to call him to mind about it. this is thought an absolute breaking off from all kindness to that Duke, who din'd that day in London with above forty Lords and Gentlemen of Quality, Lord Russell was one. Two healths were drank, the one begun by the Duke of Monmouth, the King and Magna Charta, the other begun by the Lord Howard,[1] The Confusion of all pretending Popish Successors. There is a Letter set out about the Black Box,[2] and the proceedings upon it, I hear it is very severe on the Duke, and insinuates as if the Duke of Monmouth were either Legitimate, or that notwithstanding might be set up, this has determin'd the King in the manner [matter?] of a Manifesto [3] to be set out concerning his Mother, which I hear will be ready for the Council on Wednesday next. There is a discourse of a high expostulatory and threatening letter from France, but I know nothing of it but by report. The Earl of Rothes is made a Duke and is to be Colonel of one of the new Regiments, he is in most mighty favour, though he is once if not twice a day in such a condition, that other persons would scarce think him fit to do any great matters. The Lord Tarbatt is turn'd out of all, as a creature of the Duke of Monmouths; so I hear both the Kings advocates [Advocate?] and the President are to be, and that Sir George Lockhart, is to be Kings Advocate. This is what this place affords for discourse. I shall only add that I am your Lordships &c. &c.

XV.

June ye 5th 1680.

This is one of the quiet seasons in which as my Lord Bacon observes, a man would desire to live, but not chuse to write of it. So there is scarce matter for a Letter, and by consequence we are at present at more than ordinary ease. only fears and apprehensions have their fermentation still. There is a discourse, and that

[1] Of Escrick. A personal friend of the Duke of Monmouth, and notorious for his subsequent treachery, in 1683.

[2] The celebrated pamphlet by Robert Ferguson.

[3] This is dated June 8, and appeared in the Gazette, No. 1519.

among no slight hands, that there is a design of bringing in the Duke to the publick administration of affairs, though with no Patent[1] Character, but as declaring him successor to the Crown, and putting him in some sort of possession of it before the King dies. The matter of Tangier is now settled the men are most aboard, and the Horse will be ship'd next week, I hear the Companies out of which they are drawn are not to be fill'd up, and that the Mole is not to go on till the Moors are driven away, so the expence will not be above 30,000l. I do not hear they are in any apprehensions of losing the place at all.[2] They talk much of an expostulatory Letter from France, grounded chiefly on some discourses of Sir Robert Southwells at the Elector of Brandenbourgh's Court. We are also made believe that the King of France will adhere to his demand of the Spaniards departing from the Title of Duke of Burgundy, if a war follows upon this, we have a Title still, that will be a much more colourable foundation of one, when that is at an end.

Will Fanshaw[3] just now tells me, Letters are come from the Earl of Rochester,[4] by which it seems he must be dead by this time. Dr. Lower is sent for, but they think he cannot live till he comes to him, an ulcer in his bladder is broken and he pisses matter, he is in extreme pain: he has express'd great remorse for his past ill Life, and has perswaded his Lady to receive the Sacrament with him, and hereafter to go to Church, and declare herself a Protestant, and dies a serious Penitent, and professes himself a Christian. Since Mr. Fanshaw told me this, I hear he is dead. I add no reflections on all this, for I know your Lordship will make them much better. The Town says, The Duke of Buckingham has been at Court, it is false, but by what I hear, it is likely he may do it ere long. We have been expecting these two days a narrative[5] of the business of the Black Box, yesterday

[1] As a Papist he could not take the oaths.

[2] Sir W. Hickman, being in the Ordnance, writes very feelingly on the subject. The town and outlying forts corresponded by speaking trumpet, 'and its in ye Irish tongue (for there's no Irish Renegados) which is ye only advantage I have heard of that Language' (Spencer MSS. Box 31, bundle 36. June 2, '80).

[3] A William Fanshaw married a sister of the Duke of Monmouth.

[4] The witty profligate Earl, the history of whose dying repentance Burnet, at Rochester's own wish, published during the following winter.

[5] The royal declaration, asserting the illegitimacy of the Duke, mentioned above.

the Seal was put to it, and it is to be enroll'd in many several Rolls: but I do not hear it is to be printed by authority. yet when it is once enroll'd it will not be long out of the press. so having but little to trouble you, your Lordship will get off easily now with but one page I am yours.

XVI.

June 12th 1680.

I am afraid this letter will be so long that it will quite fright you from desiring any more, but I must venture for once, though I give you but small comfort when I tell you beforehand that in all this Letter as long soever as it is like to be, there will be very few things that will please you, unless you are of the humour of a Patient who is glad to know the worst of his desease. The business of Tangier fills the Town with discourse, it is a shamefull story, and like to cast as great a blot on us, as that of Chatham was. The Alcaide sent to Trelawny who commanded the Fort, to render and be prisoners of War. They finding the mines were come under them, gave notice by the Speaking Trumpet to the Town, that they were to quit the Fort at such an hour, that they might make a Sally, and help them to break through; so on the 17th of May, after they had spik'd the Cannon, and laid a train, which Trelawny, who went out last, fir'd to blow up their Amunition they broke out. the Moors had cast three Ditches about them, the first Two, Six foot deep, the Third nine foot deep, and it was full of mire, they got through the two first, but stuck long in the last, 450 men sallied out, but shamefully run all back to the Town as soon as the Moors fac'd about to them without giving fire, so left them to perish in the ditch. of 180 forty got to the Town. the next day the Alcaide having cut off their heads sent them to Fez, struck a parly for the Garrison to bury their dead, and sent to them to deliver up the Town and be Prisoners of War. Now what is to be expected from a Garrison when four hundred and eighty commanded men did so base an action, I leave your Lordship to judge. This is a new weight on a Government that has already load enough on it in conscience. Our tidings from France are not much better. the King of France has set the 25th of this month for his coming to Dunkirk, and the 27th for the Spaniards to give their answer about the title of Duke of

Burgundy, and it is generally believ'd upon their denying to lay it down he will fall into Flanders, and it is taken for granted that every place will surrender to him upon Summons. Mr. Sidney[1] has brought over with him an agreed project of an Alliance between Us, Spain and Holland, but it is generally said, the Article is, that a Parliament be call'd, for so Don Pedro di Ronquillas[2] says to every body, it was expected, that last Council day should have brought out somewhat concerning it, but they were disapointed, all that was done was about common matters, only Mr Kingsley[?] was suspended without being heard, and though some of his friends press'd much that he might be first heard, it could not be obtain'd. But yesterday produced such a piece of news that people generally conclude from it, there is no thought of a Parliament at least my Lord Chief Justice Scroggs does not look for any. Mrs Cellier[3] was brought to her trial, where besides great gentleness to her, and roughness to Dangerfeld[4] it was objected to him, that he was not capable to be a witness, for he was under an outlawry for Felony, and that was not specially mention'd in his pardon; it was answer'd, that a full Pardon was intended, and order'd, if there was anything omitted, that, ought not to be stood on. or at least, that it was to be put off till the Kings mind was known. My Lord Chief Justice said, he was not to enquire into intentions, but to take things as they were. So would not admit him a witness, and order'd him to be carried to Jail for the Felony; and it is thought he will be hang'd, or made unsay all he has said. When he saw this, he said openly, that My Lord Chief Justice did now act plainly to discourage all from discovering and repenting the ill they had done, and to be so kind to Delinquents. but Gadbury fairly deny'd all he confess'd to the Council. So Mrs Cellier was acquitted, and kneeling down according to form to say God bless the King and that Honourable Court, she added God bless the Duke of York: as she went out of the Court, she saw Praunce[5] standing near the Court, and said aloud to him, you Rogue you see, how that Rogue is us'd, so shall

[1] 'Handsome' Henry Sydney, our representative at the Hague, uncle to the first Lady Halifax.

[2] Spanish Ambassador.

[3] A Papist concerned in the 'Meal-tub' plot, a forged conspiracy by which (among others) the name of Lord Halifax had been aspersed.

[4] Who had turned King's evidence.

[5] A Popish plot witness.

you and all of you be shortly. I need not tell your Lordship the sense of the Town of this transaction, for I am sure you are not so quite cur'd of the disease of thinking as not to apprehend it. in short all people that are displeas'd with the Court are glad of it. The King is by the observation of all about him extreme uneasy, and has complain'd to one or two of the Duke's being so busy, and giving him no rest. I have this, so, that I dare give credit to it. and it is generally thought that the Duke has lost more than he has gain'd by Procuring the Declaration.[1] There are some employ'd to try what will satisfie the Parliament, and I hear the business of the Earl of Danby[2] is offer'd, but I do not find those who negotiate in that matter have much hope. You know who is my next neighbour,[3] I need say no more. Some of the Physitians have been with the King to perswade him to take Physick, but to no purpose, he takes more of the Jesuits Powder frequently upon some grumblings he has felt, and it is generally fear'd that he may be ill in the autumn: this I hear makes Duncombe and others much backwarder in advancing of money.[4] The Committee of Council for regulating Corporations sits often, which makes some think a new Parliament is designed, but I do not hear much ground is like to be gain'd that way. I hear the Duke of Bucks intends to indite the Earl of Danby[5] this Term, if he can perswade Sir William Waller to come over. Le Mar[6] is dead of the Pox some days after he was found guilty of as foul a blasphemy as ever I heard. but such stuff I do not love to reveal. The Duke of Bucks is said to have broke out the other day into one of his humours against the Duke and the Duke of Monmouth and after he had curs'd them both sufficiently, he in the end curs'd himself, if he was for either, but that he was for a commonwealth. Now after so tedious and unpleasant a Letter, I shall add somewhat to sweeten all. The Earl of Rochester lives still, and is in a probable way of recovering, for it is thought all that ulcerous matter is cast out; all the Town is full of his great penitence,

[1] Concerning Monmouth's illegitimacy.
[2] Still under impeachment in the Tower.
[3] Sir Thomas Littleton, one of the 'Country' leaders.
[4] Because so much of the revenues would determine with a demise of the Crown.
[5] Query Derby: see *ante*, p. 13.
[6] One of the witnesses against the Duke.

which by your Lordships good leave I hope flows from a better principle than the height of his fancy, and indeed that which depends so much on the disposition of the Body cannot be suppos'd very high when a man's spirits are so spent as his were. This, he told me in his last sickness prevail'd with him beyond all other arguments to think the soul was of a different nature from the Body, for when he was so low that he could not stir, and thought not to live an hour, he had the free use of his reason to as high a degree as ever he remembered to have had, in his whole Life but it was plain reason stript of fancy and conceit. I was last night with Sir Francis Winington[1] and telling him that I was to write to day to you, he charg'd me to present his most humble duty to you, and to tell you that he lov'd you with all his heart, I said I should do it in his own words, and now my Lord I am sure you are weary to purpose.

[So great meanwhile was the anxiety of the existing Ministry to secure the suffrage of Lord Halifax, that Lord Sunderland and his two principal colleagues, with Henry Sidney, went down express to Althorpe, in order to meet the recalcitrant statesman. The interview created extreme alarm in the ranks of the 'Country' party, and Burnet's ensuing letter is observably stiff.]

XVII.

June 19th, 1680.

I might well spare your Lordship this trouble since you will from much better hands have heard how things go, for you will not think it strange if the Town that is apt to talk of every thing makes great inferences from an appointment made between the Earl of Sunderland and Mr. Sidney and you at that Earl's house, which is design'd, as the newsmongers say, to bring your Lordship again into Affairs. So I need say nothing of the Truce at Tangiers for three months, of the Affairs of Flanders, nor of the strange proceedings of the King's Bench, where Dangerfeld one day was cast as no good witness, and within two days when Mrs. Cellier was discharg'd, was found to be a good witness, as [is] within the Newgate Pardon. These things furnish matter of dis-

[1] Formerly Solicitor-General, now a member of the Exclusion party.

course to those who are glad to find any. But of all this you must have receiv'd more certain and particular information than any I can write. Our two Scotch Lords the Duke of Rothes and Earl of Queensberry began their journey on Monday. I apprehend things will be carried with a higher hand than heretofore, for I see they are very full of zeal, and will go through with every thing as long as all can hold together. There has been a discourse about the Town chiefly cherish'd by my Lord Chancellor's friends, as if he, were tottering and like to lose the Seals, but I hear there is no reason for it. Lately three of those that were in Rebellion last year in Scotland, were apprehended by some of the Kings soldiers at Queensferry, seven miles from Edinburgh, but the zealous women of the Town fell upon the soldiers and rescu'd them, so that two escap'd, the third [1] in the fray was knocked on the head, and died in an hour, but the Portmanteau of one of those that got away being seiz'd, they found in it a paper like the draught of a new Covenant for it begins, We undersubscribers, it is a renouncing the King and his Family, declaring him to have fallen from his Regal Power and that they owe him no more obedience, this being in a Ministers Portmanteau gives great reason of suspicion, but whether it was only the essay of an ill natur'd Rebell who would try his pen on such a subject, or if it was a more meditated discourse I cannot understand. The best thing I can add is, that I have nothing else to trouble you but to beg you will accept of the humble duty of yours.

[Lord Halifax hereupon circulated letters of explanation.[2]]

XVIII.

June 26th, 1680.

As I must acknowledge the favour your Lordship did me in ordering your man to call upon me, so I am to beg pardon for a presumption I was guilty of, finding you had forgot to name Sir Francis Winington I presum'd so far as to advise him to call on him in your name, for which if I mistake you not, you will not blame me much. Since you were so lately with men who governs

[1] Cargill. See Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, ii. 306–7.
[2] *Life of Halifax*, i. 225–6.

all the Councils and so can give a man a light to know things for a great while to come it were very impertinent to trouble you with a long letter, the same [tho' some?] things have fallen out this week that were not look'd for, in which your double Uncle [1] has been very active. On Monday the Grand Jury of Middlesex sign'd a Petition for Parliament. On Wednesday the Earl of Castlemaine [2] was accquitted by the Great care and zeal of my Lord Chief Justice, who did so rogue Dangerfield that as he contended long, against hearing his evidence, so when he had done it he gave direction to the jury to have no regard to it, and the Earl of Castlemaine was so sensible of his favour that he complimented him highly upon it. On Thursday the City carried it very highly both in chusing Slingsby Bethel with another of his Stamp [3] Sheriffs, and in calling mightily for a Petition for the sitting of the Parliament, but the Sheriffs would not meddle in it. Yesterday the Duke of Bucks's Cause against Christian and Blood [4] was try'd, it was very clear against the former, though both were found guilty. and this day, that, that has been talk'd of all the week is done, the Earl of Shaftsbury and four other Lords went and gave their Evidence to the Grand Jury against the Duke of York as a Recusant [5] and he is present'd, but the particulars of that affair are not told me right, for by an accident I was oblig'd to keep within doors to-day, but I suppose you will have it written more fully to you by others who know it better. Such a visage of affairs does not look like a Session of Parliament at present, and yet never was anything more confidently given out than that we shall have one in November at farthest, and I can assure you our Scotch favourites are gone this week homewards as much exalted as ever I knew men, and nothing so much talk'd by all about them and hinted at by themselves, That Scotland will be useful to the King, if it Proves so in the Scheme they have laid down, I know nothing of that Nation. I shall not try your Lordships patience, by turning the leaf, but since I have room for no more I add only an adieu.

[1] Lord Shaftesbury, whose first and third wives were related to Halifax and his first wife respectively.

[2] Husband of the notorious Duchess of Cleveland; he had been implicated in the Popish Plot.

[3] Independents and reputed Republicans. See *History of my Own Time*, ii. 239, 247–9.

[4] For conspiracy to defame him.

[5] See *Life of Shaftesbury*.

XIX.

July 3d, 1680.

Your Lordship cannot think it strange, that in a time of so much business, a journey made by all our Great Ministers was believ'd to be more than a bare visit, I am sorry you were then so much out of order, and much glader that you are now so well. The business of Tangiers is rather suspended than remov'd which appears by this new supply of 1800 men, all the Earl of Dumbartons Regiment is to be sent over with an additional [*sic*] of 600 from Scotland, you had no doubt heard of the second attempt for inditing the Duke,[1] disapointed by the discharge of the Jury as the former was, a third is expected at Hicks's hall next week, when I hear there will be a Noli Prosequi to stop further proceedings. The Charge given to the Judges for proceeding severely against the Papists, and gently against Dissenters was a great surprise on every body. On Wednesday last there were between 50 and 60 that Din'd with the Duke of Monmouth near the Exchange where they had the former Healths, and two Rules were made, one that none should drink above a Pint of Wine, the other, that none should Swear. I am told to day that the Petition for the Parliament is again on foot in Middlesex. And to this I shall add the best piece of news I have now to tell you which is, that I have nothing else to trouble your Lordship with, except that I have had one of the best Letters from the Earl of Rochester that ever I had from any person, he has a sedate and sincere Repentance, and a firm Bief of the Christian Religion deeply form'd in his Mind. he has little hopes of Life, and as little desires of it, unless that he may make amends for what is past. I am, my Lord, yrs. G. B.

XX.

July ye 10th, 1680.

I do now write with more than ordinary confidence, for I have scarce matter to fill up ten lines. There was a general disappointment at Hicks's Hall, for the Grand Jury was so laid that they knew how it would go. The two Sheriffs of London are not qualified to hold upon the last Election, for they had not receiv'd the Sacrement a year before, but have now receiv'd so they are qualified if chosen

[1] Of York. See *Life of Shaftesbury* (Christie), ii. 366.

again, which is believ'd will be done next week.[1] The King comes to Town as is said on Monday to oppose their being chose. I know not what to say of the Story in the Gazette about Scotland, for it mentions That, to have been done on the 22d of June, and yet the Express bears date the 1st of July, and many Letters are come since, which say not one word of it. knowing General Daliels temper I incline to think it may be a fiction, but D[uke] Ham[ilton] writes me word that the Persons excepted, in the several qualifications of the Pardon last year ride through the Country like Banditti, they are about 1200. A great number to be made desperate in so small a Kingdom. I am yr Lordships most humble servant, G. B.

XXI.

July ye 17th 1680.

We are now at such quiet in Town that if the business of the Sheriffs had not occasion'd some Discourse this week, we should have been quite run dry. You had no doubt an account of that business formerly, so I need not say anything of it now, but that the Poll turn'd a little yesterday against Bethel and Cornish but the others I hear are not yet within a Thousand of them. The Recorders[2] Carriage is a greater prejudice to all the Motions of the Court than can be imagin'd, sure [since?] his opposing many things, kindles great opposition to it. It gives as I hear no small trouble to some now at Windsor. There is a report that the Grand Jury of Berkshire have found the Bill against the Duke of York, but I hear it not confirm'd. The Project of the Militia in Scotland is like to be oppos'd, and at best, if it comes to be settled will raise more ill blood than ever it can do good. The wisest and best men [man?] that I ever knew among our nobility there, is dead, the Earl of Kincardine,[3] and now I have done with my news. I am much bound to your Lordship for your good wishes as to St. Martins, but you know how I am stated [*sic*] too well to think they can have effect. My Lord Chancellour has offer'd it to Dr. Patrick upon [which?] my Lord Russell[4] was so kind to me as to send to his Father of himself, recommending me to Covent Garden, which will be done

[1] See *Hist. passim.*
[2] Sir George Jeffreys.
[3] See his Character in the *Hist.* (sub anno 1660), i. 188.
[4] The celebrated Lord Russell, executed in 1683.

if Dr. Patrick removes,[1] but what he resolves I do not know, for I am now so hot at work about my History [2] that I scarce see anybody [save?] on Thursdays and Sundays. I am to go next week to the Earl of Rochesters who is a little better but not so that there seem great hopes of his recovery. I am desir'd by my Lady Ranelagh to write to you concerning a great many French Ministers lately turn'd out of their Churches, and forc'd to come over. The Bishop of London gathers for them, on one side, and she on the other, so [as] she had found your Lordship so easy and free on the like occasions formerly, that she has laid it on me to beg your charity for them. [,?] I know you will expect that I should name somewhat, I think Ten pounds will be a large charity. I will not trouble you with asking pardon for this, but you will receive next week a Letter Recommendatory from me, for which I ought before hand to ask many pardons, but I will anticipate nothing, if there is no room for it, there is little hurt done save the reading of a short letter, this I will only say before, that what I have writt was not drawn from me by importunity, but was of my own accord, and if your Lordship have occasion for such a servant I can say upon fifteen years experience he is both the honestest and ablest I ever knew. I am Your Lordships most humble and faithfull Servant,

GILBERT BURNET.

XXII.

July ye 29th 1680.

I could not write to your Lordship on Saturday last, for it was late before I came home from the Earl of Rochesters, and having rid post and very hard to which I have not been accustom'd, was so uneasy that I could not write. Now I understand he died the night after I left him, tho' he did not think he was so near his end. his understanding was perfect, and he had still the greatest flights of fancy that I ever knew in one so low. he was the greatest penitent I ever saw, and died a sincere Christian, but of this I shall say no more because he gave me in charge to publish an account how he died.[3] being one day in a more cheerfull temper than ordinary, I told him with how much concern your

[1] As a matter of fact Tenison succeeded Lloyd at St. Martin's in October of this year. Luttrell, i. 56; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, art. 'Lloyd.'

[2] Of the Reformation.

[3] See Burnet's *Some Passages in the Life and Death of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester* etc., published in 1680.

Lordship enquir'd after him, he bid me tell you that he return'd his humble thanks to you, and added, that you were the Man in the World he valu'd most, he believ'd you were melancholly on the account of the Publick and so turn'd to another discourse. to this I shall add another melancholly story, the Earl of Ossory [1] is now in the 10th day of a high fever and pass'd all hopes as I hear he lay yesterday as dead, half a quarter of an hour. I can add little to such sad passages, tho' I had more matter than I have, it will not much divert you to tell you there is a mighty struggle in Scotland about the Militia, the counties I hear do generally refuse it. Fife did it tho' the Duke of Rothes went over to make them give good examples, there has been a little bustle between the two Earls of Caithness, the one the Heir of that Honour, the other, He on whom the King conferr'd it.[2] here we have nothing but the business of the Sheriffs, carried for Bethel and Cornish by several hundreds. I have no more to add but to acknowledge your noble present in the Ten pounds you have sent the poor French exiles.

XXIII.

July 30th 1680.

The Earl of Ossory died last night. The business of the Common hall is much talk'd of, but I shall say little of it, for an Account of it and their Petition is in print. Some say the Earl of Inchequin will be again sent to Tangier in order to the making of Peace with the Moors, who are willing to let us keep the place so we hold it as the Portugueses did, the Earl of Lichfield comes in supernumery to the Bedchamber upon the Earl of Rochesters death, and it is said the Earl of Middleton will come in upon the Earl of Ossory's. In Scotland the Council goes on pressing obedience to the Proposition for the Militia, which is different from what it was formerly, for the old Militia is to stand and the Counties are requir'd to vote a pay for 5000 foot and 100 horse besides this is so ill a design, that one comes from there tells me there is nothing now whisper'd so much in Scotland as the extolling the Duke of Monmouth and depressing the Duke for

[1] The beloved son of the Duke of Ormonde.

[2] For this curious incident see *Burke's Peerage, re* Earl of Caithness (George Sinclair, 6th Earl).

this they think an ill requital for their kindness to him. but Rothes undertook to effect it, and besides his being made Duke had a Warrant for 5000[1] which in so poor a Treasury makes a great hole. The Country there is in a great fermentation upon this, and the Meeting houses, (which were after the last years defeat tollerated) which were pull'd down by an order lately sent from Court, Field Conventicles abound again, and tho' one of the proscrib'd Preachers was lately killed at one of them, and this day se'enight his head and quarters were carried through Edenburgh on poles, yet I do not find that allays the heat there, in a word things are carried there as if some enemies to the Government had the direction of the Councils. I am glad to hear that your Lordship is to be here within a month, tho' I doubt whether I should so far entertain an idle story as to repeat it to you, That you are to go to Ireland,[1] which you may be sure I do not believe. I cannot conclude without acknowledging your Lordships great goodness in not only forgiving the presumption of my recommending a Servant, but being so obligingly civil to him in whose favour it was of which he gave me a full account. You still continue to lay more chains on me, whom you have already by many bonds engag'd to be

your Lordships &c. G. B.

XXIV.

August 7th 1680.

I can be no great trouble to you at this time in which the Town is so silent. The Council day produc'd nothing. Dr. Oates says, the Lord Privy Seal has assur'd him, it is resolv'd to lay the Lord chief Justice Scroggs aside and that Keeling is to succeed him. My Lord Allington is talk'd of for Tangier. My Neighbour[2] tells me they are now wholly employ'd about it, it will prove a great charge, and he thinks to no purpose, but the King and Duke are mightily set on it. Sir William Temple goes ambassador to Spain.[3] In Scotland the Counties generally refuse this new Modell, but the Council seem'd resolv'd to go through with it, many Gentlemen who have most oppos'd it are call'd before the Council, and great severities are expected. Duke Hamilton is gone to the

[1] As Lord Lieutenant. The post had been more than once refused by him.
[2] Sir Thomas Littleton. [3] This fell through.

Isle of Arran. in a word the fermentation there is extraordinary. A prisoner that was taken refus'd to answer the Council or any acting by the Kings Commission, whom he call'd Charles Stuart, and tho' both his hands were cut off, and his body ript up, so much that his heart did palpitate long after it was taken out, he died like a Hero unmov'd by all they did, or like a Madman.[1] And now I have told your Lordship all I have to say of what is abroad, I must next thank you for your noble kindness to me, but there is so little inclination to shew me any favour, that tho' many have mov'd that I be put in St. Martins it is so far from being effectual, that I am told, Dr. Patrick shall not, since it is known I should succeed him in Covent Garden, and if I am now in such a character, God knows what I am to expect when I have finished my history. I have been close at it now a month, and am at present pretty far in Q. Marys reign, but I have met with so many passages which have not been known before, that will be thought such [as] if they had [been] laid together on design to cross the Duke's interests so that except I prevaricate, I must resolve to be for ever under his high displeasure, but I shall tell truth, and am not accountable for the use others will draw from it.[2] I hope you are weary of the Country and will be soon in Town, which many long to hear, so there is none alive more happy in your company than I.

GILBERT BURNET.

[*Final Note.*

Here the Letters end. About the middle of September Lord Halifax returned to London;[3] and Burnet's attempt, some two months later, to effect a reconciliation between Halifax and the Exclusionists[4] was foredoomed to failure. At the request of Sir Thomas Chichele, stepfather to Halifax, the Doctor, it would seem, subsequently appeared before the House of Commons to clear the Earl from an absurd charge of Romanism; 'I wish,' adds Burnet in his account of the affair, 'I could have said as much to have persuaded them that he was a good Christian, as that he was no papist.'[5]

[1] This was Hackstone, one of Archbishop Sharp's murderers. See *History of my own Times*, ii. 306.

[2] He received during the autumn of this year the thanks of Parliament for the *first* volume.

[3] *Life*, i. 232.

[4] *Hist.*, Airey's ed., ii. 255; ed. 1833, ii. 250.

[5] *Ibid.* Airey's ed., ii. 260; ed. 1833, ii. 253-4.

Thenceforward their ways parted; but their intercourse during some years, if rare, remained friendly.[1] The events of the Revolution, however, with Burnet's elevation to the rank of a Spiritual Peer, wrought a change in their mutual relations. The ridicule which Halifax poured on the political pretensions of the Bishop casts a doubt [2] upon the authenticity of a very appreciative 'Character,' usually ascribed to his pen;[3] while the estimates of Halifax enshrined in the Doctor's History [4] contrast to an amusing extent with the foregoing correspondence.]

[1] *Hist.*, Airey's ed., ii. 300; ed. 1833, ii. 294–6; iv. 341; vi. 278. Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 6584, fols. 117, 142. (Supplement to Burnet's *History*, pp. 149, 202.)

[2] See *Halifax's Life*, ii. 198, n. 3; and Dartmouth's notes upon Burnet's *History*, ed. 1833, i. 491–2; vi. 337.

[3] Burnet's *Hist.*, ed. 1833, vi. 335–7.

[4] *Ibid.* i. pp. 491–2; iv. 268–9. See also Harl. MS. 6584, fol. 88 (*b*). (Supplement to *Hist.* p. 407.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE PAPERS

OF

THOMAS WOODCOCK

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(*Ob.* 1695)

EDITED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FROM THE CONTEMPORARY TRANSCRIPT BY DR. JOHN HALL
OF KIPPING, THORNTON, NEAR BRADFORD, CO. YORKS

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EXTRACTS FROM THE PAPERS OF THOMAS WOODCOCK

THE stories which follow were transcribed by Dr. John Hall, of Kipping, Thornton, near Bradford, Yorkshire, from the papers of the Rev. Thomas Woodcock, who had been ejected in 1662 from the living of St. Andrew Undershaft, London. Both Woodcock and Hall were men of some mark in the history of Nonconformity.

Of Woodcock, Calamy, in his *Account of the Ministers . . . Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration in* 1660, gives the following particulars (2nd ed. 1713, ii. p. 44):—

'As for M^r^ *Woodcock*, he had the Universal Reputation of a Learned Man. He was a smart Disputant, and one of great Ability and Readiness in Academical Exercises. He had been long Fellow of *Jesus* College, and Proctor of the University of Cambridge; In his College gave Education to more Gentlemen Commoners than all *Jesus* College, and rendred it a great and flourishing Society. After his Ejectment he and Dr. *Tuckney* liv'd for some time together in the Country: But for the sake of his Sons he afterwards went to *Leyden* and continu'd there a while. Returning into *England*, he settled at *Hackney*: and at first Preach'd in his own House, and afterwards with D^r^ *Bates*, but always *Gratis*, having a good Estate of his own. He dy'd of a Feaver in 1695.'

It will be noticed that several of the stories came to Mr. Woodcock from Dr. Tuckney or Dr. Bates. The stories seem to have been written down at different dates up to the time of Mr. Woodcock's death.

How Dr. John Hall, of Thornton, came to know Mr. Woodcock or to have access to his papers after his death, I do not know. But he also had suffered for the cause of Nonconformity.

John Hall was born about 1631 and practised as a physician apparently unlicensed, at his house called Kipping. He figures in the *Autobiography of Joseph Lister* and in Oliver Heywood's *Diaries* as a chief member of the infant Independent Church at Kipping, which met in a building of his own adjoining his house. Both his house and the building mentioned are still to be seen by a visitor to Thornton, and they are still the property of one of Dr. Hall's descendants. The building bears the date 1669, so that it was ready for use when at the Declaration of Indulgence, in 1672, Dr. Hall applied for a license. This license is also preserved. Dr. Hall died in London on June 6, 1709, at the age of 78, and was buried in Thornton churchyard, close to the south wall of the now demolished Thornton chapel.[1] His gravestone, boldly and deeply cut, still bears the inscription: 'Hic etiam deponitur corpus Johannis Hall de Kipping medici qui in Christo obdormivit' (the date has perished). He was buried with his son Zelophehad, who had died in 1676 at the age of 11. His property passed to his grandson Dr. Joshua Firth, son of Dr. Hall's only surviving daughter, Mary, and John Firth, of Wheatley (who had died in 1704).

As a descendant of Dr. Hall's, I have in my possession six volumes bound in leather of his closely-written manuscript. One of them is a medical work dated 1661, called 'A Compendium and Treasury of Medicine and Chirurgery.' It appears to have remained unprinted, though quite ready for the press. The other five are chiefly filled with sermons, taken down apparently as Dr. Hall heard them delivered at Kipping and elsewhere. I gave an account of them in the *Yorkshire Notes and Queries*, p. 175 (1887–8). One of these volumes, 'No. 1 of Octavos,' contains the extracts from Mr. Woodcock's papers which are here reproduced.

It is natural that here and there Dr. Hall should have misread Mr. Woodcock's writing, or wrongly expanded a word which Mr. Woodcock had left contracted. Such mistakes, which are few, have been pointed out in the notes. G. C. M. S.

[1] Of this chapel a century or so later the Rev. Patrick Brontë was minister. His famous daughters were all born at Thornton.

Some hystoricall passages out of Mr W's papers.—When Mr Rogers mourned unmeasurably for his wife, some friends chid him and said he had cause to be thankfull yt God had taken away such a Thorn in his side as shee was. Oh! says he, shee was a good wife, shee sent me to God many a time, when otherwise he should not have gone.

Of Mr Rogers[1] of Dedham and a poor shoomaker.—Mr Rogers observing yt he came not to ye lecture asked him ye reason; he said he could not spare time: what says Mr Rogers, does thou get in yt time; he said a Groat; I'le give thee a Groat said Mr Rogers every time thou comest. After a few weeks he came for no more Groats, but found so much work and good trading he needed them not.

Mr. Shepherds[2] eminent deliverance.—When the same Mr Shepherd was at Emanuel Coledge he studyed in Bed had a wyre Candlstick, while he slept the snuff of the Candle fell on his pillow,—burnd and smothred so; that when the Bedmaker came in the morning, shee was almost styfled. Opened the window and cryed her Mr was choaked. This awakened him: the pillow was burned, saveing in the places where his head and neck lay. not a hair of his head singed.

When he was going from Yarmouth to New-England, a suddain storm drave the ship on the sands, that the men called for all to shift for themselves for their lives, for there was no hope. Says M: S: have you done what you can? they said yes! Come then, saith he, let us pray and see what God will do? before he had done praying, the wind turned, fetched the ship of the sands, and flung her into the maine; so they came to shore, a little after went to sea again and finisht their voiage prosperously. Thus was this good man preserved for great purposes.

ArchBishop Laud's speech of men going to New England.—Mr Wiggans[3] heard him say in the star-chamber, when people

[1] John Rogers (1572?–1636), vicar of Dedham from 1605 to his death (*D. N. B.*).

[2] Thomas Shepard (1604–1649), Emm. Coll., B.A. 1623, went to New England 1635, and assisted in founding Harvard College (*ibid.*).

[3] Probably Mr. William Wiggans, who was ejected from St. Andrew Hubbard, in Little Eastcheap (Calamy).

flocked over thither so fast, This hand shall pull and rout them there and thence. But his head dropt off ere he did it.

A speech of King Charles 1st.—Mr Goodwin (afterwards Dr Goodwin)[1] and some others gott the Earls of Warwick and Holland to solicite him for favour to the puritans. Speak no more of that, says he, I am resolved to root out that sort of men. Henceforward, said Mr G: we prayd no more for him.

Part of Dr Hammond's[2] sermon before the King at Oxford when his case was low; and he had this saying: as long as God-damme's leads the vann and the-Devil-confound-me's brings up the rear, he must needs be routed in all his enterprizes. At which the King wept. Told by Mr Smith, minister of Wadhouse, who was eye and ear-witness of both.

A prophecy of Bp. Usher.[3]—He entertained the Deputy Stafford[4] in Ireland very sumptuously. The Deputy said, my Lord you live very splendidly: who replyed Yet I shall live to want necessaryes. Then said the Deputy, You must live a long time, for no such thing is in prospect. The Bishop replyed I shall live to close your eyes. When he was upon his tryall, the Bishop came into England: which troubled the Deputyes thoughts. The Bishop was on the scaffold, when his head was cut off, who took it up and closed his eyes. This chancelor ffinch told Dr Bates.

Of Bishop Brownriggs[5] sicknes.—Dr Bates vissited him in his last sicknes and told him that he supposed that he could say with Hezekiah, Lord remember how I've walk't before thee in truth, with an upright heart, and this would be a great comfort in this houre. I can not say so, says the Bishop, but I desire and doe cast my self at the feet of Jesus Christ my Lord. A worthy speech of a Bishop and humble Christian.

A saying of Dr Wilkins.[6]—He was always for the Church of England taking in the Dissenters: for he said, they had set it up

[1] See p. 66, *n.* 1.
[2] Henry H. (1605–1660), D.D., canon of Christ Church 1645 (*D. N. B.*).
[3] James Ussher (1581–1656), Archbp. of Armagh 1625 (*ibid.*).
[4] Lord Strafford.
[5] Ralph B. (1592–1659), Bishop of Exeter, lived in retirement during the Commonwealth, a strict Calvinist (*ibid.*).
[6] See p. 68, *n.* 1.

as a Topp on the Toe, which would not spinn or stand no longer than it was whipt by penall laws; but he would have it stand on the broad Basis, and then it would stand without whiping.

The Sentiments of some Bishops of the Church of Rome.—ArchBishop Sandcroft[1] and Bishop Gunning[2] pleaded openly in the house of Lords that the church of Rome was no Idolitrous church. This in year 1678. When the popish plot was discovered, M^r^ Sherlock in Westminster Hall told M^r^ Moses he was of the same mind. The common people have a better sence of these things than this Londensian[3] clergy, for they take Adoration of the Bread, Angels etc to be Idolitrous, an Act of Parliament and their Homilies calls it an Idolitrous Church; but it seems others —that are makeing towards Romè to maintaine their secular Grandieur—are of another mind.

M^r^ Dod[4] of Bishop Laud's speech.—M^r^ Geury visiting M^r^ Dod in bed in his last sicknes, asked him if he should read to him ArchBishop Laud's speech or Sermon upon the Scaffold. He did so; when done, says M^r^ Dod, what a pityfull dry thing is this; but thus it is, when carnall men will medle with spirituall things. It seems this excelent man was by that prelate not thought worthy of a liveing; but his son Wilkins was allowed the viccarrige of ffawsley and M^r^ Dod to be his Curate.

D^r^ John Tillotson[5] preached to the Court upon Joshua's charge; where he asserted that no man ought to affront a false religion established by authority unles he can work miracles as Christ and his Apostles did. By which he kills all the Martyrs over againe, which sacrificed their lives for the Testimony of Jesus under pagan and Papall tyrants, and all the protestant churches in the world, and with Cankered Heylin[6] makes the Hugonots in ffrance and Queen Elizabeth herself to be Rebells or assisters of them.

D^r^ Stillingfleets[7] answer about ffasting and prayer.—When the Lady Barnard was deeply Malencholly and troubled in mind, D^r^

[1] Will. Sancroft (1617–1693), Archbp. of Canterbury 1678 (*D. N. B.*).
[2] Peter Gunning (1614–1684), Bishop of Ely 1675 (*ibid.*).
[3] Perhaps Woodcock wrote 'Laudensian.'
[4] John Dod (1549 ?–1645), rector of Fawsley, Northants, from 1624 till his death in August 1645. Laud was beheaded on 10 Jan. 1645 (*ibid.*).
[5] John T. (1630–1694), Archbp. of Canterbury 1691 (*ibid.*).
[6] Peter Heylyn, D.D. (1600–1662), controverted puritan views (*ibid.*).
[7] Edward S. (1635–1699), Bishop of Worcester 1689 (*ibid.*).

Bates[1] made a motion to Dr Stillingfleet, who was her kinsman by Marriage: that they might fast and pray, that they might seek comfort of the Comforter. Dr. Stillingfleet said that was against the Cannon. Then said Dr. Bates, The Cannon is no Cannon, but contrary to God's word. It's [not (?)] contrary to the Cannon to play at Cardes and Tables etc. this is nothing, but to fast and pray is, because the Cannon reduceth all ffasts to Lent and Ember week.

Bishop Brownrig[2] said concerning Bishops in 41; they had a Good Game of 30 playd into their hand, but would play againe. and they were out. To Sir William Bloyes, when dying, he said. I believe the king will come in, but I Tremble at it, for with him will come in such numbers of the faction of Laud, as will not part with a Ragge of the Surplice to save the Nation *from* a conflagration.

Bishop Harsnet[3] when he was sick, hearing of a Meeting of Ministers, sent one to Dine with them to observe what they said of him. He brought word againe; not a word at Dinner—but all silent of him: but after Dinner the chaplin giveing occasion by mentioning his Name; he, says one of the ministers, was bredd a zealous puritan, and now he's a zealous persecutor of them; I believe he has sined the sin against the Holy Ghost. The *chaplin* told him of their great sylence about him, and at last what this minister said of him: he turned his head and dyed immediately.

Of Bishop Crofts[4] of Hereford.—He was a Knight Barronet as well as a Bishop. He wrote the Naked truth. Preaching before King Charles the 2nd on these words, It is good for me that I have been afflicted, he said to the King, Sir, you have been afflicted; but what good has your afflictions done you? Is it only

[1] William Bates, D.D. (1625–1699), ejected from St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, 1662 (*ibid.*). Calamy writes: 'He was generally reputed one of the best Orators of the Age. Was well vers'd in the Politer Parts of Learning. . . . His Wit never vain or light, but most facetious and pleasant. The Lord Chancellour Finch and his Son the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Nottingham had a Particular Respect for him. The late Arch-Bishop Tillotson highly valu'd him. . . . For the latter part of his Life his Residence was at Hackney, where also he exercis'd his ministry with great success.'

[2] See p. 54, *n.* 5.

[3] Samuel Harsnett (1561–1631), Archbishop of York 1629 (*D. N. B.*).

[4] Herbert Croft (1603–1691), Bishop of Hereford 1661, wrote against Roman Catholicism (*ibid.*).

to embrace a Lady in your Armes? After your escape at Worster the Grand Enemy Oliver said, this man is escaped for some great Blessing, or Scourge to the Nation. You may if you please make good the former; but I fear you will by the latter make him to be too true a prophet. This Dr Manton[1] heard and told Mr W.

He being Dean of the chappel at Easter came to the King, said he desired leave to go into the country. The King said, How can you go, when you are to give me the Sacrament on Easter Day? He replyed, he therefore desired to be absent, because while he lived as he did he could not in conscience give him the Sacrament.

Of Dr Henry More.[2]—After he was B.D. he was lycenced to be an University preacher: Mr Cole, a pleasant friend, wished him joy of it, for he would never make a country preacher. When he was chosen Master of Christ's Colledge, he refused to accept of it, that he might enjoy himself and his studyes as a speculative ffellow.

He has in his mystery of Iniquity admyrably proved the papacy to be Antichrist and opened other things. Dr Sharp in his company once said, He used the Cross in Baptism, not because he liked it, but because enjoined: Dr More replyed, the church is in a Consumption; it is high time to shave her head, and all excresencyes, that symbolize with Rome, to save her life.

Dr Dean of Titchmarsh.—He complained of one of his churchwardens that he came not to the Sacrament; the churchwarden in open court said he durst not drink in the same Cup with the Dr. his Nose declared his Disease. He was so hateful to his parishiners, that some ill men as was said, sawed down the pulpit floor when he was to preach; others say the floor itself was weak and nothing done to it: but this is certaine that the floor fell and the Dr with it—broke a legg, which discouraged him from coming in that place, which he never loved before, except to vent his spleen and raylery.

Dr Stillingfleet.[3]—He preached a Sermon before the Lord Mayor of the mischief of separation; it's known what mischief ensued.

[1] Dr. Thomas Manton (1620–1677), ejected from Covent Garden. One of the Savoy Commissioners (Calamy).

[2] Henry More (1614–1687), publ. *A modest enquiry into the mystery of iniquity* (1664) (*D. N. B.*).

[3] See p. 55, *n.* 7.

I have (says Mr W) no oppinion of that man's pyety that must go in his coach on the Lord's day to ayr himself, that frequently neglects prayer in his family: that gloryeth he has shaken off the principles of his education, togather with his gratitude to them that first raised him. [I adde that when he ran from the fire of London, did much bewayl the loss of his books (for he feared they were all burnt) but being desired to pray in the family he retyred to, did not put up one petition for the distressed people of London, nor once mention them, as I heard from one then in the house.]

Of Chancelor Hyde.[1]—When he was at the Hague before the Restoration in a ground chamber in a Grazy Gown, not half so Decent as an Almsman (Dr Crowther told Mr W.), they had not mony to pay their quarters. Yet in a week's time he was as fine as my Lord Mayor, at whose Table Mr W. met him, no wine good enough for his proud pallat. He would have 20 persons excluded from pardon: he sent to all the rich Lawyers that had acted in the late times, that they should make up the 20; he gott from those fatt ones near 100,000ll., and then put in lean ones to make up the Number: as Ph. Nye[2] told Mr W. from whome he had the story.

This was he that fled out of England that day of the next year, in which he had procured an Act to banish all Non Conformists 5 miles out of Corporations and from the places where they preached, a pestilent act made in pestilent times, by men that were esteemed the pest of the nation; who for pensions sold our liberty.

Of Dr Sharp[3] the murthered Bp. of St. Andrews.—After his Appostacy and betraying his Brethren, he was in his sermon bitterly inveighing against Dissenters as guilty of the blood shed by the Covenant. A woman cryes out in the church, I wonder how you can declayme so against them, when you murthered a childe yourself that you had by my body. This Dr Burnet[4] told Dr Bates[5] as a very truth: and if so —Divine vengance discovered and overtook him.

[1] Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.

[2] Philip Nye, ejected from St. Bartholomew, Exchange. One of the Assembly of Divines in 1643, a Tryer in 1653. Died 1672 (Calamy).

[3] James Sharp (1613–1679), Archbishop of St. Andrews 1661, murdered on Magus Muir 1679.

[4] Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715), Bishop of Salisbury, 1689.

[5] See p. 56, *n.* 1.

King Charles 2nd Speech of Mr Lamb's Sermon.—He begun his Sermon at Windsor before the King, thus—Faith, Truth, and Grace are the 3 great Impostors of the world. Reason is the Empress of the Soul, whose conduct thro' Theoligy, morallity and policy I am now to shew you. The King said, after all ended: What stuff is this? Such stuff as they bring from Oxford: it's better to Catichize and answer two questions; how we might live well, and dye well. One that heard the King speake it told Dr Burnet, he Dr Bates, and he Mr W.

The ffrench Refugees in England.—They did not pity, but censured the 2000 Non Conformists in England. Mr Claud[1] himself wrote against them, whilst their case was ill-stated by the Churchmen. Mr Jurieu says they were of opinion that the papacy was not Antichrist, but now they feel it, as well as their former want of compassion. They have the common-prayer at the Savoy. At the Greek church, Allin petitioned they might have a place where they might have thro' conformity, Conformists, which was granted. So they are reordained, use Liturgy, Surplice, Bowing at the Name of Jesus and to the Altar, as in Cathedralls. So futile and fickle is the ffrench Genius: they are fugitives from them selves, principles, and antient practises, as well as from their country.

Of Dr Stern,[2] ArchBishop of York.—He complained once in the house of Lords, that as he came up to London, tho' he preacht himself yet there were but four score in the church, when there was at a conventicle hard by 400. The Duke of Bucks replyed, it would be considered whether it were better to bring the 400 to 4 score, or the 4 score to 400: but says he the reason is obvious. The Bishop says he preacht himself; the Non-Conformists preached Jesus Christ.

Of Dr Brown, Physitian in Oundle.—He had an Education according to the strictest profession of purity and holy conversation; but falling into the company of some of the Nobility and Gentry, amongst whome he had the chief practise; they were much given to drinking and swearing, which was the mode of those times, wherein every man was accompted a phanatick that

[1] Jean Claude (1619–1687), French Protestant minister.
[2] Richard Sterne (1596?–1683), Archbp. of York 1664 (*D. N. B.*).

did not so: he got such a wound in his conscience; not for complying with them (for that he did not) but for not reproving them, that he was grown into great Dispaire; his spirits were low, and blood depauperated thro' not eating: the anguish of his mind was so great, that it wasted all his flesh from his body. Being a person of great reason, he mannaged all his arguments against himself, that it was a hard task and required a long time to setle him; but being brought in the plague year 1665 to Stackersly in Leicestershire, where was D^r^ Tuckney,[1] M^r^ Woodcock etc., they kept him in discourse, used much endevour for him, prayer, and other means, especially by the discourse and prudence of M^rs^ Woodcock, who had compassionatly treated him, haveing herself been in the like Agony's, that he was first brought to meals with them, then to pray and more tollerable discourse, and at length to perfect setlment and quiet of mind. He said afterwards, that it would have been more easy to him to have his flesh pul'd off his body with pinsars of hot iron; than those thoughts were that put both his body and soul into such sweats and Agonyes. It was reported abroad that he was mad; so that some ran in speedily to see what case he was in: amongst the rest a Gentleman; to whom he gave such a home charge upon his conscience, like Paul to ffestus he spoke the words of Sobernes, which as it is hoped did him good to his dying day.

See D^r^ Brown's letter to M^r^ Woodcock upon the death of his wife, his great Comforter, in another paper.

Of M^r^ Carter[2] of Norwich.—A lewd Woman, a strumpet with childe, was hired to lay it to him; he was not troubled, for he knew it concerned God to vindicate his reputation, for his ministry's sake, wherin he had served God sincerely. When shee was to be delivered, no midwife could lay her; she sent for M^r^ Carter, and said shee had sined against him, and could not be delivered till he had prayed for her. He did so, and shee was presently delivered.

A Lincolnshire Minister, in Queen Elizabeth's time.—A poor

[1] Anthony Tuckney (1599–1670), D.D., Master of Emmanuel 1645, of St. John's College 1653. Between 1666 and 1669 was at Oundle and Stockerston, Leicestershire (*D. N. B.*).

[2] John Carter served at St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, 1631–53, and later as minister of St. Lawrence, Norwich. He died 1655 (*ibid.*).

Godly minister had but a viccaridge of 30lb a year, and that so ill paid that he had not wherewith to lye dry in bed and keep his family. A Neighbour Gentlman who often came to hear him had a liveing of 100lb per annum, fell void, and offered it to this Minister; he durst not accept it till he went to Cambridge to consult Mr Perkins,[1] who resolved him that he might remove: he came back a mile and returned to Mr Perkins, telling him he had no satisfaction; who told him, we judge it lawfull to remove, but if God lay a restraint upon the Spirit, you must stay. He comes home very well satisfyed, but his wife was troubled; to whome he said Come! let us trust God, who hath blest my labors here; rather than go taste plenty, and I soon dye with grief. So he resigned his presentation. The parish, seeing his self-denyall, presently collected him 30lb and gave it him. Look here, wife, said he, we've lost naught by trusting God. Soon after, his patron a Batchelor dyes, leaves 100lb per annum to this man and his heirs for ever. Now wife, said he, never distrust God more. If I had taken the liveing, thou wouldst have had plenty a while, and known greate want after my death; but now God hath given thee and my children 100lb a year for ever.

Of Bishop Hacket[2] and Bishop Laud.—Bishop Hacket told Dr Boylston one of the prebendaryes of Litchfield that Bishop Laud would swear notably, but he once tryed with him and did out-sweare him. This Dr Boylston told Mr Woodcock himself.

On the same fashion in Darby pulpit, he is reported to have used this phrase, the Devil scald you all; which was apprehended to be a curse.

Sir Ed. Massy[3] went to him to beg a curtesy for a Tenant; but he the Bishop made him wait so long and treated him without respect, that Sir Edward went away in a snuff and told him, he was so proud, and took so much state upon him that he scorn'd to ask any thing of him.

Of ArchBishop Laud. In the Long Parliament of Charles the 1st one was crying him up for a great protestant and that

[1] William Perkins (1558–1602), Fellow of Christ's College, a strong Calvinist and esteemed writer (*D. N. B.*).

[2] John Hacket, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1661. See p. 79, *n.* 1.

[3] Sir Edw. Massey (1619?–1674?) (*D. N. B.*).

to his knowledge when he was at Rome, some Jesuites that were sending over into England, were cautioned to take heed of Bishop Laud. To whome Alderman Love [1] replyed in the house; what the Gentleman said, was very true, he was at Rome at that time of the Mission. But the reason of the Caution given was because they was resolved to take 40 years, to effect their design; but the Bishop by makeing too much haste would ruine all.

Of Bishop Bancroft.[2]—He is reported to be the Corrupter of the 20th Article, where it's said the church hath power:—which is not in the Originall Copy, filed up by Act of Parliament, as Dr Seaman told me, when they had the Originall before them in the Assembly. This Dr Bancroft was contemporary with Dr Chaderton,[3] the known first Master of Emmanuel Colledge. Chaderton haveing busynes with him, when he was at Lambeth, sent in his name. The Bishop dismissed all the Company with him, sends for him in, asks him his name if it was Chaderton; he replyed Yes! I shall know that presently, says he; shuts the doors, puts off his Gown; if you be Chaderton, then you can wrestle, and I will try one fall (as they had oft done at the University). The Dr flung the ArchBishop; now says he I know thou art Chaderton; dispatches him with handsom kindnes. It was somewhat ominous that the puritan should fling the ArchBishop.

This both Dr Tuckney and Dr Horton [4] told Mr W.: and said they had it from Dr Chaderton's own mouth.

Of Dr Evans of Winsor.—He was a zealous presbiterian, but going to Windsor, while Lord Lauderdale was prisoner there, he became acquainted with him, and at the Restauration procured him a prebend that brought him in 5000lb in fines, 200lb per annum rent.

At the King's coming thither, he was against bowing to the Altar. Whereupon the King expressed his resentment and anger,

[1] Probably Nicholas Love (1608–1682), M.P. Winchester 1645, a regicide (*D. N. B.*).

[2] Richard Bancroft (1544–1610), B.A. Christ's College 1567, Archbp. of Canterbury 1604 (*ibid.*).

[3] Laurence Chaderton (1536?–1640), B.A. Christ's College 1567, Master of Emmanuel 1584–1622. The *Vita Laurentii Chaderton* tells how in their early days Chaderton saved Bancroft's life in a 'town and gown.'

[4] Thomas Horton, D.D., Fellow of Emmanuel College, M.A. 1630, President of Queens' College 1638–1660, silenced in 1662, but conformed later and was vicar of Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, from 1666 till his death in 1673 (*D. N. B.*).

saying if he will not bow to God, let him not bow to me, and this made him the more suple the next day. It may be his patron Lord Lauderdale had scoold him.

Not long after he brake a vein, and on his sick-bed said to M^r^ Woodcock: you have many storyes of our high church-men, but if you lived among them as I doe, you wold say as the Queen of Sheba to Salomon the one half has not been told; if I live, I'le come as little among them as I can. But poor man he is sunk into the mould by the weight of 800 ^lb^ per annum.

Bishop Wilkins[1] Sermon at Mercers Chappel.—He pres'd much to moderation, and for that gave 2 reasons (1) Because no man is infallible, one man may mistake as well as another (2^ly^) the world is mutable and it might come to their turn to be above that now are undermost. He often said if Dissenters were not taken in, popery would invade us.

M^r^ Brown's legacy to 35 ministers.—He was a Goldsmith in Cheapside, had no childe nor near kinsman to be heir to 40 ^lb^ per annum he had in Walthamstow, than a half brother that was very wicked. He gave his ffather-in-law Col. Anger of Wiltshire and his mother this estate for their lives, and after their Disease to be sold and devided to 35 ministers, wherof M^r^ Gibson was one. At the ffuneral Col. Anger said, I pray God be mercyfull to us, we shall not live long, who have 35 ministers ingadged to pray for our Deaths. This was rashly and uncharitably spoken; but within 9 weeks both he and his wife dyed.

Of M^r^ Jessop[2] Minister of Cogshall in Essex.—He became a severe preacher against and persecutor of Dissenters, till he had preacht his Congregation away. However he seemed to be of another temper in Ol. Cromwell's time. D^r^ Walker came to vissit his son in law M^r^ Cox of that Town, and preached one Lord's day in the morning. The friends that dined with him at Noon pressed him to preach again in the afternoon, to which the D^r^ yielded, if M^r^ Jessop pleased: he assented; but seeing the Congregation fill, while he read the prayers, began to be uneasy. Called to the

[1] John Wilkins (1614–1672), one of the founders of the Royal Society, Warden of Wadham College 1648–1659, Bishop of Chester 1668.

[2] According to Wood, Constantine Jessop ministered at Coggeshall 1651–1654, but did not obtain the vicarage, and died as rector of Wimborne in 1658 (*D. N. B.*).

Sexon to take away the Cushion for there should be no Sermon that afternoon: which was done, and the Congregation dismissed. departed peacefully. And within a few days Mr Jessop had such a pain in his tongue that it turnd to a Kanker, whereof he dyed in a few weeks, never preaching more. Dr Walker at Tunbridge told Mr W. that his tongue was pained that very night; that the Sexton grew lame on one side and dyed not long after. So that now, saith Mr W., I am satisfyed in the story.

The effects of Arminianisme.—They that are for the Absolute Decrees, tho' they cannot philosophically reconcile all their notions, yet are generally a strict and holy people, and in this profligate age all the Debauched are generally for free will against absolute Decrees. It is a disgrace to Arminianisme that that Doctrine was never so much preached up as in the immorrall ages: and they that say they have so much power to do good, and are vile, are certainly the vilest sort of men in the world.

Of Mr John (after Lord) Carew.[1] A Discourse betwixt King Charles the 1st and him. He was one of the Commissioners sent to King Charles the 1st at Holmbye; discoursing with the King about laying aside Episcopacy, or his consent to abolish prelacy. I cannot, says the King; out of conscience. Doth your Majestie think, says Mr Crew, there are no more protestant churches in the world, but in England; or was it lawfull for your ffather and you to abbolish Bishops in Scotland, and is it not Lawfull in England? The King replyed, That is a S[p]ightfull question.

The Archbishop Usher hearing of it told the King, he did ill to snub such a person as Crew, and that he had not an honester and more peaceable subject than Mr Crew: the King after meeting Mr Crew said, If I have spoken anything hastyly, or harshly, I desire it may be forgotten and passed by.

This Mr Hickman[2] told from my Lord Crews own mouth.

But Dr Hammond at the Isle of Wight held the King close that in conscience he could not consent to it, till the Army got the Ascendant, and then he set him free when it was too late. So

[1] John Carew, commissioner at Holdenby 1646, and afterwards a regicide. Tried as such and executed 1660. One of Cromwell's 'House of Lords,' 1657.

[2] Probably Henry Hickman, B.D., Fellow of Magdalen, Oxford. After 1662 became minister of the English congregation at Leyden, and there died c. 1688 (Calamy).

they held him by the hair till his head was cutt off. This Dr Young told Mr W. from Mr Marshall and Mr Vines.

King Charles the 2nd and King James the 1st.—The Lady Sinclare, daughter to the Earl of Crawford, said at Tunbridge, that shee, her ffather, and mother often heard King Charles wish he might never have any to sit on his throne, if he did not keep that Covenant he had taken. King James his Grandfather to purge himself (to the Puritans) of Popery, in the Star-chamber pray'd God, if he or any of his turned papists, they might dye, and not raign. So said in Sir Tho. Overbery's [1] case.

Of Dr Wells of Aldersgate.—He was chaplin to the Army in Scotland; conformed. Having bid his friends to his child's Baptizing in Aldersgate parish at 2 o'clock, the child was very sick, so he Baptized it; but when 4 of clock came, and the friends that were invited (being loath to lose the silver spoons) at the same time he rebaptized it, as the Nurse told Mr W., both times in his own house. What will not these Latitudinarians doe? They'l do every thing and believe nothing, as Dr ffern said in the Convocation house.

Of Mr Anthony Burgess.[2]—How he came to Sutton Coldfield (see my other paper) here.

It's said Mr. Shelton's honest Servant was sent up for Mr Malachy Harris, whome accidentally he heard preach and that against puritans at St. Margrets,[3] Cambridge, but hearing Mr. Burgess, he thought that was the more sober man, and sermon fitter for his Master's turn, and so he had the liveing. When he was turn'd out of it at Bartl-tide 1662, he went and resyded at Tamworth, where the company and preaching of Mr Langley was very gratefull to him. He went to church constantly; purposed to go to the Sacrament, urged his wife to go with him: Nay! stay! says shee, I'le see how you like first. When he came home, his wife asked him, What comfort have you found? Truly, said he, very litle; only while the psalme was singing I had some elevation and communion with God; therefore do as thou wilt. This

[1] Sir T. Overbury, murdered in the Tower 15 Sept., 1613; the Earl and Countess of Somerset tried for the murder May 1616.

[2] Anthony Burgess, St. John's College, Camb., B.A. 1626, Fellow of Emmanuel (Calamy).

[3] Query, 'St. Mary's.'

he told to Mr Hickman, when he was on his Deathbed. There was a report in the town that Mr Burgess had repented his Non-Conformity; as soon as he had recovered his speech (for that for a time was gone from him) a friend told him, I am glad you are able to speake, there's a report you repent of your Non-Conformity: No! says he, it's false, I thank God it has been a great comfort to me in my sicknes to be able to say, I lost my liveing for Christ and my conscience sake.

Of Dr Thomas Goodwin,[1] when ffellow of Catherine Hall.—He was somewhat whimsycall, in a frolick pist once in old Mr Lothian's pocket (this I suppose was before his trouble of conscience and conversion made him serious). In Oliver Cromwells last sicknes. he pray'd for his success and a greater effusion of his spirit upon him: saying We do not beg his life, thou hast assured us of that already. But when he dyed the Dr at prayer used these words, Lord, why didst thou lye to us yesterday. Mr Howe[2] that heard him, told Mr W. He prayed with his hatt on and sitting.

In his travel he caryed Blankets, Linning, Neat's tongues, claret, etc. in his Coach, as Mrs Arrowsmith[3] told Mr W. when the Dr lay at Trinity Colledge. Then I suppose it was that he came to hear Mr Whitchcot[4] at Trinity Church, when some waggish Scollars said he slept all the while; but himself said he could not forbear going into his chamber and for a long while bewayl the infelicyty of the University which had such corrupt preachers and preaching in it. When he came out of Holland he said he had lost one limb of his understanding and all his metaphors. But when outed of all his preferments at the King's return, one mett him walking humbly, he said, God hath humbled me, and I will be humble.

Of Bishop Latymer.—His sending the New Year's gift and motto [fornicatores etc.] to King Henry 8th is fully known. He was desired to preach a ffunerall sermon, in the close whereof,

[1] Thomas Goodwin, D.D. (1600–1680), pastor of English church at Arnheim 1639–40, President of Magdalen Coll., Oxford, 1650, founded independent congregation in London 1660 (*D. N. B.*).

[2] John Howe (1630–1705), ejected from Great Torrington, Devon, in 1662, author of *The Living Temple of God*, 1675 (*ibid.*).

[3] John Arrowsmith (1602–1659), Master of Trinity, 1653. Whichcote was deeply attached to him (*ibid.*).

[4] Benj. Whichcote or Whitchcote (1609–1683), Sunday afternoon lecturer at Trinity Church, Cambridge, 1636, provost of King's College 1644–1660.

Now, says he, it's expected I should say something of the Deceased: you'l say he was a whoremonger—I grant it; you'l say he was a Drunkard; a Swearer etc.—I grant it; and there sits his son; unles he mend his manners, he'le be weel warse.'

He ernestly prayd that he might seal the truth with his blood: when all his body was burnt, his heart poured out blood—and that God would restore the Gospel once more—yet once more in England, which God answered.

Of D[r] W. Twisse.[1]—M[r] Cook, from D[r] Twisse's Doughter, assures me (T. W.) that her ffather being wild when he was young, agreed with his Companion, that who ever dyed first should appear to the survivor and tell him whether there was another world or no: his companion dyed, and appearing to him, said, I am in hell; which occasioned his conversion. When the Devils thus appear, they are forced to it by their great Lord, who purposed to make of this man such a champion for his truth. His book (de Scientia Media) hath confounded the Jesuites, and they that reads it not will hardly fathom Arminian Contriversyes.

Remarkable providences out of M[r] Woodcock's papers. Of D[r] Harvey and others.—D[r] Harvey[2] was at Rye, going beyond Sea; but the night before, the Major or chief Magistrate had been disturbed 2 or 3 times in his sleep by dreams; and was put upon it to stop that little man, whose Effigies he saw, that he should not allow his pasport; so the D[r] being hindered went to another Sea-port Town: and returning to Rye about a year after he went to the Magistrate that hindered him: who shewed him the story of his dream and Impulse written in his Bible; and that all the passengers in that vessell was drowned and the vessel lost. Therefore told him how he was indebted to God for his life: he had no reason to stop him, but that he durst not but stop him. So that we may thank God and his good Angels for such security of our lives. This D[r] Harvey himself told D[r] ffrench, and he to M. W.

[1] William Twisse (1578?–1646), D.D. Ox. 1614, prolocutor of Westminster Assembly 1643 (*D. N. B.*).

[2] Apparently William Harvey, M.D., discoverer of the circulation of the blood (1578–1657). He was in France and Spain 1630–1632. He was of short stature (*ibid.*)

Of D[r] Chatterton of Simon Coll.[1]—When he was young he was wilde but then he had an Apparitian that told him he must dye such a day, and as a sign of it told him he should make a bloody urine the next day, and the two Birds he had in his chamber should dye. The 1[st] coming to pass, he sent for a Godly friend, told him the story, grew very malencholy and concern'd. Whilst his friend was adviseing him, the 2 Birds drop'd down dead: yet his friend incouraged him to repent of what had been amiss, resolve upon a new life, and pray to God for grace. His mother being ill had just then sent for him; his friend persuades him to goe, hired him a good horse, got a stout man to go on foot with him. About 2 miles from Cambridge, the horse threw him. the man helpt him up againe; at 6 miles end, going by a Tavern, some of his former acquaintance espying him came out,—would make him drink wine and healths, he refused; they took that for a great affront, that one of them drew his sword, ran it into his body, hitt one of his ribbs, which stayed it from makeing a deeper and more mortall wound: he went on, saw his mother, was cured of the wound. The day being over, he feared death litle and God much, and so continued to doe, till he was above 100 years of age. He atributed his long life to a Quartane Ague he had in his youth, which going kindly off, he ever after had a better state of health.

Of a childe born mouthless.—D[r] Anesley[2] told M[r] W. from M[r] Phil. Goodwin[3] of Watford this story, which he knew to be true.

Two Sisters marryed, the one a mean man, that had many children; the other a rich man, that had no children. The rich Sister being invited to her Sister's labour took the childe and said, Here's the mouth, but where is the meat? The other Sister replyed, He that gives a mouth will give meat also.

At length the rich Sister being with child invited the poor Sister to her labour. She took the child and said, Here is meat, but where is the mouth? for it had none. quaere if this story be true? How could the child be nourisht in the womb? for it is

[1] Evidently Dr. Chaderton of Eman. College. See p. 62, *n.* 3.

[2] Probably Dr. Samuel Annesley (1620–1696), ejected from St. Giles's, Cripplegate (Calamy).

[3] Philip Goodwin or Godwin was ejected from Watford, Herts. Author of various treatises (Calamy).

certaine children are nourisht by the mouth and not by the navel-string. It might have an orifice into the mouth by the nose, as some have that makes them speake snarrlingly.

The birth of the Lady of Westmerland's Son.—When Sir Roger Townsend son [1] was sick of the Small Pox at Geneva, his Lady called some ministers to pray for him. One prayed for his life, but for her submission, if God should take him away, etc. Shee rose up and said, If He take him away, He tears him from me: the knight dyed; the year after being marryed to the Earle of Westmorland, shee was with childe; and at it's birth was forced and torn from her piece by piece to save her life. Shee was Doughter to Sir Horacio Vere.[2]

Of M[r] Julius Cesar.[3]—M[r] Tenant [4] once preacht at his Chappel in Hartfordshire on this text, Be carefull for nothing. At dinner Sir Julius told him, he could set his seal to the truth of that Doctrine, by 2 such experiments as himself had made. Beeing in ffrance my Bills of return fayled me; as I was walking sadly a priest observed me and told me if I would change my religion I should want for nothing: perceiveing the temptation, I presently off my Silver Buttons; sold them, and when that mony was spent my Bills came. The other when I was Master of the Rolls. I undertooke a great busynes for God and Religion, which to carry on, by such a day I must pay 3000[lb]. I called in my monys but my Debtors fayled me. The evening before I went into my closset and prayed, urged Gods care of me and my honnour, that I had undertaken this busynes purely for His glory and the publique good. Ere I had done my Servant called me out to speak to 2 Gentlmen; who haveing tyred them selves in Law-Suits, said they had bound them selves to stand to my Award, and brought the 3000[lb] with them, which was the Bone of Contention, to Depossit it with me, till I could have leasure to hear

[1] Apparently 'son' is an error. Sir Roger Townshend (1588–1637) married Mary, second daughter of Horace, Lord Vere. After his death she married Mildmay Fane, second E. of Westmorland, who died 1665 (*D. N. B.*).

[2] Sir Horace Vere (1565–1635), soldier, became Baron Vere of Tilbury, 1625 (*ibid.*).

[3] Sir Julius Cæsar (1558–1636), LL.D. Paris, 1581, Master of the Rolls 1614–1636. Bought the estate of Bennington, Herts., 1615 (*ibid.*).

[4] Marmaduke Tenant, ejected from Tharfield, Herts. (Calamy).

and determine their cause. This did my work and my own monys came in time enough to answer them.

See of him in ffuller's Worthy's.

D^r^ ffuller's [1] accompt of his conversion.—Being examined before the Tryers, as they were called in Oliver Cromwell's time, they asked him what evidence he had of his conversion? After a little pause he said, I make conscience of my thoughts (they pussed him) and certainly to keep up to closet duty and retain God in our minds with delight are the true marks of inward vital religion.

But they examined particularly, why he said in his History, Cartwright [2] did not reply upon Whitgift? He confest it was a mistake, and since he did understand there was a reply of Cartwright; if ever his book came to be printed againe, he would correct it.

Sir Edmonds Godfreys [3] Ghost.—One M^rs^ Lamb, a kinswoman of the Bishop of Ely,[4] being with two others in the garden at Somerset-house, was desired to sing, and did: the song had these words—Bleeding wounds do pity crave. There happened in the stair-case (all Glass to the Garden) a Tall person in a shrowd: all affrighted, they run away into the house. Some asked what they run for; they told what they saw. About 9 persons looking through the Glass-stair-case, saw nothing: but desireing her to sing againe, when she came to the former words, they all saw to their amazement the same Apparition.

D^r^ Cradock [5] who told it to M^r^ W. had it from M^r^ Patrick; who (if I remember) had it from M^rs^ Lamb her self.

Of M^r^ Woodcock.—He was much given to prayers, and observed God's answer to them: when he entered upon the Procter's office, he prayd with David, turn from me reproach and shame; and the Lord answered him. In the colledg he had a strange imagination,

[1] Thomas Fuller, divine (1608–1661). His *Worthies of England* appeared in 1662, his *Church History of Britain* in 1655.

[2] Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603), Puritan divine, publ. in 1572 *A Replye to an Answere made of M. D^r^ Whitegifte, &c.* (*D. N. B.*).

[3] Sir Edmund Godfrey (1621–1678), as magistrate received the first depositions of Titus Oates 1678, was found dead on Primrose Hill a month later, believed murdered by Roman Catholics (*ibid.*).

[4] Probably Simon Patrick (1626–1707), Bishop of Ely 1691.

[5] See p. 78, *n.* 2.

that there were a company of Rakehells in one Corbet's chamber; he got into his chamber by the Bedmaker's Key; Corbet had drawn his sword and said he would runn him through that came in; yet Mr Woodcock entered; sent the rest to their chambers, and after a little talk, M. W. had him take the sword by the point, and present him with the Hilt on his knees to expiate his affront; he did so, and ever afterwards reverenced M. W., who put him not to publique shame, nor spake harshly to him. How forceable are right words!

The Earl of Sandwiches[1] Appostacy and death.—He was a zealous professor in the Parliaments Army, when he came first into it. Being to go to Sea against the Dutch, said at his Table before many high Gentlmen; He wondered how he was drawn in to keep fasts and join in prayers with the phanaticks. His Lady, my Ld. Carew's Daughter, roundly replyed, You are going to Sea, and if nothing els trouble you when you come to dye, I'le promise you that shall not. In the fight his shipp was set on fire, his friends looking on; while fire and water compassed his life, he said Was ever man so deserted as I am; and so ended his life betwixt both Elements.

Lady Dothicks[2] Death by bleeding.—Shee dyed at the age of 74, one quarrilling about an accompts of 500lb shee said This fellow hath vexed every veine in my heart, and soon after vomited a quart of blood; which returned, and in 3 days time carryed her off in a moment being strangled in her own blood. This was said and done in the house where I now live. In Mr Watson's[3] time 2 or 3 persons dyed of bleeding there dureing his lease. Through God's goodnes I've not yet buryed any hence in almost 6 years.

The Death of 3 scornfull persons.—Three persons in April 1684 went to Mr Jolliff's in Chester a Bookseller. Bad 2 d. for Ball[4] and Baxter's books, said it was enough, 'twas to wipe their Breeches

[1] Edward Montagu, 1st Earl of Sandwich (1625–1672), was blown up in his ship when the fleet were surprized by the Dutch in Solebay 1672. Married Jemimah Crew (*D. N. B.*). See p. 64, *n.* 1.

[2] Query, 'Dethicks.'

[3] Probably Thomas Watson, ejected from St. Stephen's, Walbrook (Calamy).

[4] Probably John Ball (1585–1640), Puritan divine. His 'Short Treatise, containing all the principal Grounds of Religion,' passed through very many editions (*D. N. B.*).

with them. They all dyed by August. 2 of them could have no stool till they dyed. Mr Hall was then in Chester, he tells Mr W. Their names were Mr Bennet, Mr Marbury, Alderman Harby.

Punishment of Theft.—A man stole a Granado, sold it to a man who bought old Iron, in Rosemary-Lane, he picking the pouder out made it strike fire; it kild him, his wife, one child, blew another into the window, caryed off the Roof of that and the next house.

Another instance at Munden in Hartfordshire. A man desired his neighbour to kill his hog; he did so; and hung the hog in a room below: he that kild the hog, came in the night and caryed it away; going over a stile, tho he got over; but the heavy hog hung on the other side; he haveing fastned it about his neck with a cord, he was seen next morning by severall market folks going to Ware—hangd and dead by the weight of the hogg.

Diamonds found accidentally in a bought pillow.—A poor woman, a widdow with many children, bought a pillow. Going to dress it, found a Neck-lace, or string of Diamonds: shee offred it to a Gold-smith, who stopt it; shee produced the upholsterer, of whome shee bought it; he bought it of a Capt's widdow, that used to goe into India. Shee is bid 1500 pound for it. God sends treassure where he pleaseth.

The Death of the Earl of Bridgwaters[1] 2 sons.—This moneth April 1687, the Earl of Bridgwater who had a drunken Servant to wait on his 2 sons (a wise course that Englishmen takes, to be plagued with ffrench and Drunken English Servants) they both were in bed; he slept in or neer the chimney, the Candle fired the hangings, and burnt the Sott and the two young Gentlmen; their ffather and mother almost distracted upon it. The ffather went mournfully to the chamber door as it was on fire, and cry'd out Brackly, Brackly! which was the Title of his Eldest Son; but allas! he was kild with the Smoake and singed by the fire.

Of the Dutchess of York.[2]—The reasons put out why shee

[1] John Egerton, third earl, 1646–1701. His sons perished at his house in the Barbican, and their death is recorded in the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

[2] Anne, daughter of Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon, married James, Duke of York (aft. James II.), in 1660. She was received into the Church of Rome in 1670, and died in 1671.

changed her religion was because H. 8th turned protestant because the Pope would not consent to the Divorce: Ed. 6th guided by his uncles: Queen Elizabeth had a false title. Not much better are the arguments out of the strong-box why K. C. 2nd changed his religion. This Dutchess of York was sore afflicted with the french p— that Shee wished herself in the condition of that poor Herb-woman, that went by, haveing no ease, longer than shee was full, which made her eat often and much, and at last of a Dish of chickings till she had no strength to pull her hands out of the Dish.

Her vertuous Doughter[1] dyed of the Small pox. Josiah was the Son of Ammon, Grandchild to Mannasseh, Hezekiah the Son of Ahaz.

Of Mr ffrenches[2] Mother's ffather.—He told me that his Grandfather was a loos man. One night he dreamed that he hung over a Lake burning with fire and brimstone by a litle threed, which impressed such a terror upon him to thinke how britle his life was, that from that time a very serious and godly person.

Of one Mr Cormances house and family.—Mr ffortescue told Mr W. that this was the Antientest family in Cornwall. They being prophane swearers etc., one night the Arch over the Door of stone had these letters plainly writ or engraven in the stone For thy great Iniquity—I'le ruin thy Antiquity. The family was blasted, the estate sold and extinct.

Out of Mr Woodcock's papers. Omens.—At King James 2nd's Corronation, he was crowned Aprill 23, 1685, the Canopy caryed over him was untackt and fell. It was so windy a Day that 2 of the Quarterings of the Arms upon the fflagg on the Tower was blown away from the standard; but ffrance and Ireland remained, England and Scotland gone. The King was tyred at the Sollemnity, lookt very pale. Two pearles were lost out of the Crown and other Regalia; Bills sent to the Goldsmiths to stop them if offred to sell. The next night fire-works went of disorderly and fired 7 instead of 1000, and one Monarchy went not

[1] Queen Mary died of small-pox in 1694.

[2] Samuel French, ejected from Town Malling, Kent, died at Staplehurst 1694 (Calamy).

off in letters of fire as was designed.[1] Severall persons were hurt by those fireworks that went off; 2 since dead; one Manning broke his neck in the morning from a Bellcony: the Tutor of the Scepter with 24 small Diamonds, 3 Rubyes, 3 Emeralds were put into the Garret as lost. The sign of the King's head at Graschurch street corner fell down, tho new set up; the Crown tottered on the King's head and had like to have fallen as he passed along.

King James was proclaimed ffeb. 6. peaceably, but with a malencholly aspect of men's countenances.

Of D[r] Spurstow[2] and his nephews.—He was perswaded by D[r] Bates[3] to take the Oxford oath at the Sessions as D[r] Bates was by Sir Orlando Bridgman[4] before Judge Keeling, who told them that took it they were now forsworn if ever they kept meetings and did not conforme. This confounds them all, but God prevented this. Honest D[r] Spurstow dyed sudainly the night before on the close-stool. He had an estate of 600[lbs] per annum: he had made his will (as he told Mr. W.) and had given most of his estate to charitable uses, but after his death no will could be found; it was wickedly suppressed by them that grudged so much to go to charity.

But of the Alderman Spurstow's sons, 2 strangely languished and dyed; his wife dyed also; one Doughter maryed against her ffather's will, and the other yesterday October 12°, 1687 maryed one Boyl who tought her to play on the Organs; who was tryed and cast for haveing two wives, tho she was told before he had a wife and a child: yet now she wilbe at the expence of a great summe to save his life. The Alderman lived a Sottish life and so dyed: had no Credit nor comfort in what he got.

[1] One may see at the British Museum a fine print entitled 'A Representation of the FIREWORKES upon the River of Thames, over against WHITEHALL, at their Majesties Coronation A° 1685.' One of the flanking devices is surmounted by the word 'MONARCHIA.'

[2] William Spurstowe (1605 ?–1666), Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, 1645. The *D. N. B.* adds: 'He died intestate. He founded six almshouses for six poor widows at Hackney, which were finished in 1666 and endowed by his brother and heir, Henry Spurstowe, a London merchant.'

[3] See p. 56, *n.* 1.

[4] Sir O. Bridgeman, lord chief justice of Common Pleas 1660–8, lord keeper 1667–72.

And there is now a story in town of one M^r^ Coffangh a Dutch merchant who was buryed this week (May —97) but his will, in which was given 1200^lb^ to the ffrench and Dutch churches, is likewise suppressed.

Of the ffinches.—ffinch, Lord Keeper in 41, was fain to fly beyond Sea, for haveing countenanced and threatened the Judges in the case of shipmonys, fearing Stafford's fate. Sir Henry[1] ffinch was Lord Keeper; after Lord Chanclor, did many things: which succeeding orders in Chancery reversed.

When M^r^ Ray[2] ffellow in Trinity Colledge was turned out of his ffellowshipp because he could not honestly subscribe and swear, tho he went constantly to the church, never preacht at a meeting, and complyed to all Lay conformity: yet haveing contracted an intire friendship with M^r^ Willoughby, with whome he travelled, and was his great patron, M^r^ Willoughby at his Death left his Son to him, ordered his education to be under him; gave him a legacy accordingly. Sir Joseph Child[3] marries Willoughby's widdow; sues for the minor: Chancellor ffinch heard the Cause, said the will was a clear rule; but Sir J. Child replyed he is a Non-Conformist: the Chancellor replyed, he had rather have his Son bred up by a Romish priest than a Non-Conformist;. so Sir Joseph got the child; but soon lost him, and could not obtaine of him to have the Daughter.

This Sir Henage ffinch had great acquaintance with M^r^ Allen of Grays-Inn, and had from him the solution of many knots in the Law too hard for himself: tho' he spoke with a Becoming lisping.

He was wont with his Brother Sir John ffinch[4] to take this Mr. Allen to Kensington on the Lord's day in the Afternoon; where they play'd at Bowls, drunk claret: M^r^ Allen came home with a head-ake, that ended in a ffever and his Death. This M. W. says was of his own knowledge. They borrowed my Lady Allen's coach when shee was Mayeress: which shee could not deny them, tho shee was told what use it was to.

[1] Sir Heneage Finch (1621–1682), lord chancellor 1674, created Earl of Nottingham 1681.

[2] John Ray (1627–1705), naturalist, Fellow of Trinity, resigned his fellowship on Aug. 24, 1662, rather than subscribe in accordance with the new Act. See the account of his relation to the Willoughbys in the *D. N. B.*

[3] Probably Sir Josiah Child (1630–1699), merchant and theorist on trade.

[4] Sir John Finch (1626–1682), physician, on the Council of the Royal Society 1662, ambassador at Constantinople 1672–82.

How this chancellor adjudged 600lb from Mr Baxter given for Non-Conformists is said els-where. He had 200lb for drawing up one of the Acts against Conventicles, by the Episcopall party from Lambeth. He dyed of an Atrophy: as did likewise his successors North, and Jeffreys.

His eldest son the Earl of Nottingham [1] argued in the house of Lords against the Abdication, and succession of K. W. The King to sweeten him made him one of the Secretaryes of State: the King bought Kensington of him at the rate of 20000lb a very dear Bargaine. He said tho he was not for makeing a King, yet he could obey him when made; Thanks to the Secretary's place for that sweet saying (fac me Episcopum Romanum et ero Christianus) yet it is well remembred how he or his Servants behaved themselves in the place, that King James needed no other intelligence.

His 2nd son, the Sollicitor ffinch,[2] argued against K. W's Title in the house of Commons as strenuously, and it concerned him; for he that had been Sollicitor against the Lord Russell, Sydney, Cornish,[3] etc. had need to write and speak as much as he could to salve his reputation. It's said he has gott his ffather's Disease.

All these derive from the ffinches and Henneges in Kent; which were against promotors and persecutors in Queen Elizabeth's time; but they are degenerate plants.

Of Persecution.—Mr Morton [4] was persecuted in Surrey to an Excommunication, so he removed to Newington. Thomson that persecuted dyed. Another gave a significavit from Winchester to London Diocess, and he dyed. The person that brought the warrant and apprehended him to carry him to Newgate, gave him some days respite, but he dyed also before his time expyred; till he escaped out of their hands by a voyage to New-England, where their significavit reaches not.

[1] Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham (1647–1730), secretary at war 1688–93.

[2] Heneage Finch (1647 ?–1719), Solicitor-General 1679–86, counsel for the seven bishops 1688, created Earl of Aylesford 1714 (*D. N. B.*).

[3] Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney were tried and executed in 1683, Henry Cornish in 1685 (*ibid.*).

[4] Charles Moreton, son of the minister of St. Mary Overy's, Southwark, became Fellow of Wadham and afterwards minister of Blisland, Cornwall. After his ejectment, in 1662, he lived at St. Ives till 1666, when he set up a school at Newington Green, London. In 1685 he went to New England and died at Charlestown *c.* 1695. So Calamy.

Lord Lawderdale[1] in Scotland took ArchBishop Sharp[2] by the hand, useing those words, Sitt thou on my right hand, (my Lord) till I make thine enemies thy footstool. And desired God to blott his name out of the book of life, if he left one presbyterian in such a compass that would not sign the Band: yet both he and Sharp were once zealous presbyterians; tho now Appostates. In the Issue Lord Lawderdale and that party were all cast off by the Duke of York in Scotland; himself dyed at Tunbridge waters, 1682.

M^rs^ Barnardiston[3] says, shee and others saw a coach and horses with a light on the common, going towards Skinners house; the place and time of his Death. But Sharp was murdered.

Of ArchBishop Sancroft and others of the Temple.—There grew a report in April 1688, that they had a meeting wherin it was agreed the ArchBishop should publish a pastorall letter to declare they are sorry for the severity to the Dissenters,—that it was the revenge of the sequestred clergy that set things so high,—that they would comply with the Dissenters in all things wherein the protestant churches beyond Seas agree etc.: that D^r^ Burnet hath writt a Book to the same purpose in Holland; but all this came to no more than That they hope to find a temper which would satisfy the Dissenters.

The kindest word that has fallen from them in 36 years.

In the year 1659 The Sequestred Nobility and Gentry, clergy, declared as much and how far they would be from revenge. They printed their names in a whole sheet; but the world saw quickly what it came to. This sheet did them as much service as a Declaration from Breda and they were all kept alike.

When King Charles 2^nd^ gave Lycences to Non-Conformists, Sir Thomas Morris, M^r^ Garoway, and other churchmen promised, protested, and swore, If the Dissenters friends would concur with them in desireing the King to revoke his licences, they would bring in an Act for Liberty of Conscience: when the former was done they laughed at them: M^r^ Jolliffe only opposed, and knowing their principles had no faithfullnes, said let us have an Act first, and then present both together.

[1] John Maitland, first Duke of Lauderdale (1616–1682), (*D. N. B.*).
[2] See p. 58, *n.* 3.
[3] See p. 84, *n.* 3.

Of Seth Ward [1] Bishop of Sarum.—His ffather was an Attorney at Buntingford in Hartfordshire; he was bred in Sydney Colledge. When King Charles intended to shut up the Exchequer he asked this Bishop if he had no monys there, intending to give him a friendly warning: he said he had none, (fearing the King would borrow it) But are you sure, said the King, have you not 3000lb? No, said he (verba Sacerdotis) I've not a Groat. The King knowing it, said Let him goe like a knave and his mony with him. By this he lost his hopes of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and 3000lb. Being chancelor for the Knights of Windsor, the King usually allowed to the chancelor the surplusage of what he gave for the Installments. At 7 years end, the King called him for Accompts; he told him he had about 3000lb, and he would put 2000 more to it, and build houses for the poor Knights. The King said, I am a poor Knight, I'le have the mony myself, and so he lost 3000lb more.

A Discourse with an Aethist.—He calls him Mr Ho— (supose Howard), who said Dr Cradocks [2] Sermon, That all things fall alike to all; had much confirmed him in his oppinions, which he lickt with Idle storyes,—as of a Boy, being sent to the church by his sister, he said he would not goe. Shee said, The Devil will have you: Come then, said the Boy, give me my Band, I may perchance steal a Dog at the church.

M. W. amongst other reasonings advised him to Marry an honest woman, and then he would live in the fear of God and love of God, but he hated to think of a childe to succeed him, and supplant him; and wished he had been more ignorant, that he might live more securely and undisturbed by fears of Death. Aetheism breeds unnaturall lusts and sensuall liveing.

The great patience of the Lord Mouldgreave [3] upon the drowning of his 3 sons.—The old Earl of Bedford was one day discoursing with him of the great patience of Job, and that it was not possible for any one to arrive at such a pitch of patience as he had, to say the Lord giveth, and the Lord takes away, blessed be the name

[1] Seth Ward (1617–1689), Bishop of Exeter 1662, of Salisbury 1667 (*D. N. B.*).

[2] Probably Zachary Cradock (1633–1695), Provost of Eton, very celebrated as a preacher (*ibid.*).

[3] Edm. Sheffield, first Earl of Mulgrave (1564 ?–1646), President of the Council of the North 1603. His sons were drowned in 1614. See G. E. C.'s *Peerage*, v. 418.

of the Lord. The Lord Mouldgrave thought it possible, and that himself should be able to say so. Not long after he had 3 sons going over Humber togather cast away. They were very solicitous how to breake it to him; at last they sent a Gentlman that heard the former discourse, first to mind him of it, then to tell him the Disaster: he still persisted that he thought he could bear the worst of tydings with a pacate mind. When the thing was told him, he bore it as he said he should, with a submissive composure.

This the Earl of Bedford told Mr Howe.

The Earl of SouthHampton being in great pain by the stone, the Bishop of Winchester vissited him, and seeing him in great agony's and cold sweats, said I am sorry to see you in this pain: the Earl replyed, these are the strokes of my heavenly ffather and I can not wish them more short or less sharp.

Of Sir John Barnard.—He had a feast at his house at Brampton, nigh Huntington, just 40 days before the fire at London. After dinner there was Tempest and Thunder and Lightning; after that a sound of a Trumpet as shrill as a sylver one. It sounded 3 times distinctly, and by Intervalls. Some fell down upon their knees, said the day of Judgment was come: his Lady fell in travel. The same was heard at Hinchingbrook, Huntington, it was heard into Leicestershire: not long after 13 of his family dyed, and of his relations, most of them were then present.

Sir Jo. Barnard told this to Mr Woodcock himself.

He was once going for ffrance, met with a storm at sea and returned. At a 2nd going out, a worse storm, and a monstrous fish taken up by the Sea-men, round as a loaf, full of eyes etc. He was urged to go a 3rd time, but would not; said he would not tempt God.

Out of Mr Woodcock's Papers. Some Jocular passages.—Mr Hacket,[1] after Dr and Bishop, haveing come off well for his Comedy called Ignatius—and his Sermon before the King; haveing also kissed the King's hand etc., pretends to be ill, sends Sizar to Dr Butler with his urine: who curiously observeing it, found Brick-dust in stead of Gravel. He told his Sizar, Go tell thy

[1] John Hacket (1592–1670), Fellow of Trinity Coll., Camb., composed the Latin comedy *Loyola*, twice acted before James I. This is, no doubt, the comedy referred to. Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield 1661.

Tutor, hee'l never be well till he kiss the King's Breech. The Sizar coming thro' Cajus Colledge was met by one of the ffellows who understanding M^r^ Hacket was ill, and what the D^r^ had said. bid him adde, Allas! that will be hard to doe, but if kissing mine in the mean-time will doe him any service, tell him he may.

Thus was the scorner scorned.

D^r^ Thomas ffuller was reading a witty paper of verses upon a Scold to my Lord of Carlile[1]: my Lord said I must have a copy of these; the D^r^ replyed, what need that, my Lord, you have the Originall: which true, and biteing jest lost him my Lord's favour ever after.

Of D^r^ Bowls of Oundle.—He was sent for to a Captain of the Parliament side that had torne some common prayer books: who was then sick of a Dissentery: he caused some of the leaves to be boyled in milke, gave it to his patient, and it cured him. So he preacht to him the evil of tearing so medicinall a book. Being told afterwards that they heard he had done a miracle, cured a man with the common-prayer: Yes! I have so. But D^r^! would not any other paper with such Ink upon it, have done as well? No! said he, I put in the prayer for the vissitation of the sick.

This D^r^ in the times of Oliver at their Healths and merry-meetings, would take a Crum of bread, and swallow it, saying, God send this Crum—well down. Yet he gott nothing when the King came in.

Of great Swearers.—King James the first was such an one. He was greatly displeased, that two and twenty shillings pieces was called Jacobus's, and put out a proclamation to the contrary, yet it never took; no more than Sommersethouse should be called Denmark house, for they are so called to this day. Thus he that made God's name so common made his so likewise.

The Earl of Exiter used 2 phrases very much: God's diggs; and Would I might never stir.

A witty fellow made this Epitaph for him. Gods-diggs; here he liggs: would he might never stir.

[1] James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle, *d.* 1636, whose wife, Lucy (1599-1660), was a prominent figure at the Court and in the political intrigues of her time (*D. N. B.*).

A lewd woman of Stamphord, had to doe with John Earl of Exceter and Baptist Lord Cambden; and haveing a Boy, shee knew not whose it was, but christned it John Baptist, to both their Disgraces; for this sin brings in disgraces, as well as Disseases. These 2 Noblemen could agree to defyle the same woman, fell out greatly about the choise of a Parliament man for Stamford, upon the death of M^{r} Noel, who had spent 3000^{lb} for that place. Fye! that such places are bought and sold.

Of a Soldiers cureing a Gentlman of the stone.—The Gentlman had used the advise of physitians in vain. A Soldier said he would give him ease presently, he calls for a Glass of white wine, steps asyde and puts into it a Bandileer of Gunpouder, makes him drink it, and it eases him. The Gentlman meeting him afterwards gave him 5 pieces, and would needs know his receipt. The Soldier told him; but, says the Gentleman, will Gunpouder remove the stone? 'Oh Sir, said he, if you had seen the stones that I have seen Gunpouder remove, you would not wonder at it.

Of an Hydraphobia, an incurable Dissease, saith Ovid.—A physitian told M^{r} Resbury at Oundle of one that had that dissease, that he would discourse very rationally almost of any thing: but name water and he would spit in the face, bark at him like a dogg; he tryed him 2 or 3 times, in severall intervalls.

Yet other physitians have asserted, there is no cure for such, but by flinging them into the water.

Of Takeing Tobacco.—3 Tobacco takers meeting; one asked the other, wherefore he took Tobacco. The first said for wind, and to get a stool in the morning. The 2nd said to take crudityes from his stomach. The 3rd said he took it for his corns. I think in my heart, said one of the other, that's the true use of it, for I never take it, but it works from my finger's end to my toe's end.

Of M^{r} Ashwell, abused by D^{r} Wilkins.—When the D^{r} was warden of Wadham Colledge he had the statue of fflora in his Garden; into which he had contrived a pipe, thro' which to speak. At that time Oliver Cromwell had sent to the University, if any would go to preach the Gospel in Virginia, they should have good incouragement. One M^{r} Ashwell was walking towards the statue, when D^{r} Wilkins sat conveniently to whisper and

said, Ashwell goe preach the Gospel in Virginia. The voice amazed him, and at the next returne, it repeated the same words. At another return it said, Ashwell, the 3rd and last time, goe preach the Gospel in Virginia.

He going off amazed, the Dr wheeled about and mett him: asked what ayled him to look so affrighted? He said if ever man heard a voice from heaven I did: the Dr said you have always derided such fancyes; but he persisted in it, till the Dr unridled all to him, that he might have quiet in his mind, and suffer no harme by a delusion.

Dr Godard[1] of Gresham Colledge had an exquisite pallat for edibls and potabils; yet he said there were two vinteners that was better than hee. Who being to taste wine, they both commended it, but says the one, it has a litle taste of Brass; says the other, it tastes a litle of leather. When the vessell was emptyed, there was found at the bottom a leather point, with two brass taggs upon it.

Mistakes in the pulpit.—Mr War. told me he heard a good man and a good scollar preach that temptation often makes men foolish, as David psalm 116, Valde fatuus sum, saith Junius; so it is in some editions false printed, for valde fatus sum.—I said in my haste.[2]

An illiterate preacher preaching on psalm 139, I am wonderfully made, read, as in his book (where the printer had left out an E) I am wonderfully mad; and raised this observation, That a good man might sometimes be so transported, that he might be wonderfully mad. This says M. W. I heard in a pulpit 45 years ago by Dr H. (I suppose he means Dr Hill).

So another read I will be thy reward, instead of Reerward, and so pursued it in his sermon, what a great reward God would be.

It's not good to build churches on pinacles or titles of words, when so small an Error may occasion dangerous ones.

Mr Herle[3] and Mr Nye.[4]—Mr Herle a studious man came into the Assembly one morning without a Band. Mr Nye presently

[1] Jonathan Goddard (1617–1675), Gresham professor of physic, 1655 (*D. N. B.*).
[2] The Vulgate has, 'Ego dixi in excessu meo.'
[3] Charles Herle (1598–1659), prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly 1646 (*D. N. B.*).
[4] See p. 58, *n.* 2.

plays upon him; how now Charles, has presbitry so good a face and complexion that it needs no band. He was made prolocutor. Some time after Mr Nye was to preach, and in hast called for a Band, a clean Band; but forgot to put off his foul one; Mr Herle meets him, and saith, how now Philipp, has Independency so ill a face and complexion that it needs two bands.

Mr Nye told this to Mr Gilberts, and he to Mr Woodcock.

Of a Horse following a Minister into the pulpit.—A minister was a long time seeking a good horse that would please him, at last mett with one to his mind; but ere long he sold him againe in a ffair. The Buyer askt him, what fault he found in him? I tell you, says he, I love not a horse that will follow me into the pulpitt. Things too pleasing invades our minds unseasonably. It's better to part with that, that will draw off our minds from our duty.

A notorious ffornicator.—When the Curses were read in the Office of Commination, he stood up and cryed Amend. Every one wondered, and one asked him why he spake so loud? I did not curse myself, said he, by saying Amen; but I said Amend.

A Scotch Lord being desired to sit in Council and take up the old Religion said he could not in conscience; why, said the other, you are a common whoremonger and therefore conscience cannot hinder you? He replyed If I have layn with never so many whores, I'le never lye with the whore of Babylon.

Of Mr Gurney[1] of Norfolk.—To one that wisht him joy of his marriage; he thanked him, but, said he, I would ask your advise; I have got a Bastard: the man stood astonished at it: What such a man as you have a Bastard? Mr Gurney, to make him give over wondering, at last told him, he had married Mr Bastard's Doughter. When he was to preach at S. Mary's in Cambridge at the time when the Spanish match was in hand, he told them this fable. On a time the wolves discoursed with the Dogs; why are you such enemies to us brother Dogs? are not we all brethren; wee are wild wolves and you are tame dogs; why then can not

[1] Probably Edmund Gurney, Norfolk Fellow of C.C.C., Camb., 1601, rector of Edgefield, Norfolk, 1614, of Harpley, Norfolk, 1620. Died 1648. The *D. N. B* says his wife's name was Ellen, but gives no surname.

we come to the fold for a sheep, or a lamb, but you will bark at us, and set your masters upon us: we know you love mutton as well as we; let us then divide the prey, take you one sheep and wee'l take another and so let us live in peace.

He left the Application to the hearers.

A Sword ffish near the Coasts of Barbados struck a shipp and shook it so teribly that it put the Seamen to a fright, but coming to harbor and going to Tallow the ship, they found it was not a Rock as they feared, but something like an Elephants Tooth, that had pierced the ship, and was broken off, and being left in the hole it had made stopt it up. This M^r^ Barton told M^r^ W.

Of M^r^ Darby.[1]—M^r^ W. says he had the best naturall parts of any pupill he ever had, yet extream idle. When he was Remoraccator [Prevaricator] he was hem'd [hum'd?] at every sentence, the Sophisters caryed him out upon their shoulders, sent him home with 6 Trumpets etc. M. W. hasted to him, told him, Now thou thinks thyself a Witt and a Brave-fellow, thou'lt be courted to their drunken sosciety and undon. No! says he, I think my self a great deal worse than in the morning, haveing only shewed that I can play the fool to please Boys, and he hoped God would keep him from such company. [His excelent poem discribeing the drunken-club, printed many years after, shows how much he abhorred them.]

When D^r^ Tillotson left Kedditon[2] to come to London, M. W. prevailed with Sir Thomas Barnardiston[3] to present M^r^ Darby, where he lives yet. Long since he sent him a letter of thanks, and desired seeing he had got him a liveing, he would now get him a wife, with whome he desired not durty mony, but pure vertue, yet in regard vertue was not infallibly certain, he desired 1,000 pounds caution-mony, for vertue should fail. Lately he sent to him: hee is the same man as ever he was, only he was in place and M. W. out.

[1] Charles Darby, Jesus Coll., Camb., B.A. 1655-1656, Fellow. Author of verses in University Collections 1658, 1661, 1662; of *Bacchanalia, or a description of a Drunken Club*, 1680, 1696, 1746 (anonymous), a brilliant work; and of *The Book of Psalms in English Metre*, 1704. Darby's Prevaricator's speech, delivered in 1660, is printed in the preface to the *Hutton Correspondence* (*Surtees Society's Publications* 17), from a MS., Mm. V. 42 (18), in the University Library, Cambridge. The word 'hum'd' was commonly used in the sense of 'applauded.'

[2] 1664.

[3] See *D. N. B.*

Of Mr Herbert Palmer.[1]—He was of Queens College; the famous poet Cleaveland abused him in his poems. Palmer is a fruitful girl etc.[2] He once said of him; See you that Palmer—he is a Puritan and I hate all such; but I would give all the world when I dye to go where Palmer goes. Dr Brownrigg said of him, God lent him, and sent him into the world for a Token. He was a Gibbose, had a strange and sonorous voice like a Grasshopper, from his very back. Hee has stood 3 hours in a pulpit on a fastday, yea! I've heard 6 hours without wearynes; yet not able to walke the length of a short street, without leaning on some Bulk.

Sir Elis Layton, while he was in Ireland, was of great power. A rich countryman being nominated for Sherif came to him to gett him off, telling him he could neither write nor read, and put 20 Guinnies into his hand. Sir Elis told him, tho' Thou canst neither write nor read, yet I see thou art a man of great sense. So he gott him off.

Dr Sybbold,[3] an Edenburgh physitian of good parts and practice in King James's time turned papist, furnisht his closset with Crucifixes and other popish Trinkets. His wife while he was asleep, gets them all out of his study aud burns them. He was very angry when he awaked: shee only said Burn my God if you can; which words glowed in his mind, so that at 3 months end he repented and became a protestant again, and prevented many others from turning, lest they should be made to return.

Divine vengance upon a woman Burned.—This day Nov. 13, 1682, one Elizabeth Hoke was burnt for clipping; in Bunhill fields a place never used for that purpose; but the sherif chose it

[1] Herb. Palmer (1601–1647), Fellow of Queens' Coll., Camb., 1623, President of the College 1644 (*D. N. B.*).

[2] John Cleveland (1613–1658) (*ibid.*). See his poem 'The Mixt Assembly' in *The Character of a London Diurnall with several select poems* (1647), p. 30:

> 'Then Say and Seale must his old Hamstrings supple
> And he and rumpl'd Palmer make a couple.
> Palmer's a fruitfull girle, if hee'le unfold her,
> The Midwife may finde worke about her shoulder.'

[3] Sir Robert Sibbald (1641–1722), president of Edinburgh Royal College of Physicians, 1684, first professor of medicine at Edinburgh University 1685, temporarily converted to Romanism and obliged to leave Edinburgh for London. His *Remains*, with autobiography, published 1837 (*D. N. B.*).

as a void and spacious place. When shee saw shee must dye, shee owned God's Justice in bringing her to dye in that place, where many years before shee had buryed a child with a spade in the night, being a bastard, born out of wedlock.

The death of M^r^ Temple.[1]—Self-Drowning.—He was the only child of Sir William Temple. Was lately marryed to a ffrench Lady with 25000^lb^, was Secretary to the Army, a place valued at 1500^lb^ per annum; was heir to his ffather's estate; beloved of King William as his ffather was, yet being cheated by Tirconels Secretary with whome he corresponded, and who assured him of his Master's complyance with King William, and had likewise vouched deep for Hamilton, who went from the King to Tirconel; that he would return; but he did not, for he became of Tirconels Councel: these things failing, he saw Ireland was in a liklyhood to be lost, by the King's relyance on his word. He was hereby overset with the Temptation to cast himself away; he took a payr of oars and leapt into the Thames; left a paper in the Boat that he had undertaken to the King what he could not perform, therefore he thus disposed of himself.

An Opera acted at Copenhagen.—The Harlem Gazzet says this week April 1689, a play was there acted at Court; where a lamp took hold of the curtains or hangings, and 300 people were burnt suddainly. A merchant had a letter which says they were acting Thunder and Lightning and Mercury coming out of the clouds with a Thunderbolt to strike thro King William the usurper of England etc. Our Gazzet saith scarce a family in Copenhagen but is in mourning. There was but one door to go out at; it was 3 days in acting. This was the catastrophe of it.

The Earl of Rochesters[2] conversion, who was an Instance of a great witt, a great sinner and a great penitent.—It's remarkable that he fetched all his comfort from Isaiah 53, which chapter he got without book. One told M^r^ W. he said he would rather live in a hog-sty than at Court: this was not a pang, for he lay 9 weeks sick; nor malencholly for he retaind his sparkish wit in his sicknes. See the Sermon at his funerall and D^r^ Burnet's Memoirs of him.

[1] John Temple, drowned himself April 1689. See *D. N. B.* lvi. 50.
[2] John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (1647–1680). See *ibid.* lxii. 65.

Of the Death of one M^r^ Collins a lawyer.—He fell sick at Tunbridge, was watched with, at midnight one knocks fiercely at the door, they went to the door, but saw nobody: a 2^nd^ time so againe; at the 3^rd^ knock Mr. Collins cry'd aloud, I come, I come, I come; never spoke more, but dyed in the morning. M^r^ Alsop knew him. His father tho a bad man disinherited him: he had forged his unckls will; given his estate to himself, by geting fals hands and seal. Who knows but his Master now knockt for him?

Of persecutors.—The Mayer of Taunton by a new charter was to goe in scarlet, he said jestingly, as threatned to Dye his Gown by persecuteing the Dissenters. On the first Lords Day he was at church, a great Rat came and sate on his shoulder, which amazed him: and after another day, came and sate on the Desk before him.

Justice Parr of Exceter came to M^r^ Atkins[1] house to cary him prisoner to the Gaol, they not opening the door he broke it: M^r^ Atkins was sick of the Gout in bed, not able to rise, but he forced him when he could neither go nor stand, caused him to be caryed in a chair to Jail. A friend laid down the fine required: so he was left to be caryed home. This Justice not long after fell ill of the Gout (as Naamans leprosy clave to Gehazi) but he got ease, would rise and put on his clothes, said he was well: but as he put on his stockins, fell down and dyed.

These 2 storys are writ from credible hands to my Lady Holworthy.

Of M^r^ Champernon a Justice of peace and a fierce man against Dissenters, came to London to see how his service was rescented; went home with Glee and resolution of greate vigor: at a drinking bout he was so inflamed, he fell into a feaver and distraction; he cry's out he was Dam'd; they send for the parson, to whome he said he was affrighted with a skeleton, that appeared to him and said Repent of thy wickedness, to-morrow thou shalt dye such an hour; the parson told him this was Mallencholy, a delusion, a fancy: he persisted he was as certaine it was a reallity as he was alive, and no delusion, and said if he lived, he would never persecute men as he had done; at the hour appointed he dyed. He was a

[1] Robert Atkins (1626–1685), ejected from St. John's, Exeter, in 1662. Calamy mentions that he was afflicted with the gout.

vile man: he got his own sister with child. This Mr ffavel affirms true on his own knowledge.

Concerning the ffrench.—By Oliver Cromwell's means, there was gathred for the Piedmonters and ffrench 38000lb in England: some sent presently the rest reserved for a second need (of which there was 16000lb in the Treasury when King Charles 2d came in). Monsier — — — waited long to get some of it. I asked what was become of it, he said (le roy a donné à ses putaines). Under King Charles and King James was gathered for the ffrench Refugees thrice as much (as they say) but in the 1st collection the Bishops prevaled, that none should have any of it, but they that conformed to the English Ceremonyes and went to receive the Sacrament kneeling: it would not serve the turn to go to the ffrench church: tho that would distinguish them from papists, which was made the pretence of this order. Many in their great necessity conformed, with a very unwilling will, and trouble for it afterwards. This was the greatest collection of the three.

In King James' time there was not such an order; but last week Monsiur Claud's[1] book being a narrative of the present persecution in ffrance, was burnt by the hand of the common hangsman. Flameing Charity.

Some say both the Piedmont and ffrench protestants were much declined both in Doctrine and manners, and if any Discipline were excercised upon them, spescially on husbands, they would run away to the papists, and so families are ruined.

Marshall Turenes, when he turned papist, he bad his coachman turn to some church to go to mass. The man comes out of the Box and says, my Lord, are you in earnest? Yes, says he; the man replyed, I've driven you to the house of God this 30 years; let who as will drive you to the Devils. Yet for all this he left him an Anuity when he dyed, tho himself persisted in popery.

Of Mr Roger Young. He was son of Mr Thomas Young, pupil to Mr W. He was a Non-Conformist severall years, had 100 pound per annum of his own, his wife discontented urges him to conform for a small place at Ipswich; shee run out; sold his land, yet ran in Debt; her children was wilde, one dyed distracted, another drowned in the Thames, passing from one ship to another;

[1] See p. 59, *n.* 1.

shee dyed. He succeeded Mr Gurnall in the great liveing at Lavanham; debts came on him: he married one with 300lb to pay his debts—shee antisipates his liveing, tears his hayr etc. He has a palsy. A collection is makeing for him to go to the Bath, to which I gave him a Guinny; he dyed presently.

Provision for poor Non-Conformists.—Discoursing 1681 with Mr Warren[1] of Hatfield about the state of poor Non-conformists in Essex he said they were generally well provided for, and a greater Number with two liveings cannot pay their debts, of these he named severall, that when dead the very Butchers were unpaid. If they provide for them selves and God for the other, these things may be. Good Mr Wilson that had but 3 Heffers and a little Houshold stuff was turned out; trusting God, was comfortably provided, supplyed. Mr Laurence had nothing to live upon but the 5th chapter of Matthew; and it was enough. One man, no Nonconformist, an old Cavillier said, if there had not been so many Non-Conformists, the Nation would have turnd Atheists. Bishop Ken in his Articles forbids that men shall talk of Religion at meals: yet the ffounders of Colledges appoint it. And it is a practise in Colledges, or has been to read a chapter at Dinner that may afford discourse.

Of Mr Selden's Repentance.—When he lay on his deathbed hee was greatly troubled he had been an hyppocrite; reserveing one hour every day in which none might speak with him, as if he had spent it with God in Devotion, whereas he did no such thing. When Mr Hobs came to see him, he utterly refused to admitt him, saying he had too much of Mr Hobs company, and Mr Osburns also. It is reported that Mr Hobs ordered before his Death this to be written upon his grave-stone, Here lyes Matter, and another shortly after underwritt, It is no matter.

Here the stories end.

P.S.—An interesting account of John Hall is given in a paper entitled 'John Hall "Doctor" of Kipping' by the Rev. Bryan Dale in the *Bradford Antiquary* for July 1905.

[1] John Warren (1621–1696), ejected from Hatfield Broad-Oak, Essex.

MEMOIRS

OF

SIR GEORGE COURTHOP

THE MEMOIRS

OF

SIR GEORGE COURTHOPE

1616–1685

EDITED
FROM AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TRANSCRIPT
IN THE POSSESSION OF G. J. COURTHOPE, ESQUIRE
FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY

MRS. S. C. LOMAS, F.R.HIST.S.

LONDON
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PREFACE

THE Courthopes, or Courthops, an ancient Sussex family, are said to take their name from the lands of Courthope, in Lamberhurst parish. In the time of Edward I. we find Courthopes amongst the principal inhabitants of Wadhurst, more than two centuries before Whiligh became their home. But in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were settled in Kent, partly at Goudhurst, partly at the old manor house of Goddard's Green, in Cranbrook parish.

Early in Henry VIII.'s reign John Courthope married Elizabeth, daughter of William Saunders, then in possession of Whiligh, and on Saunders's death, in 1513, Courthope became the owner of the manor, not merely in right of his wife, but by virtue of a will made by his father-in-law in his favour. In 1539 John Courthope granted Whiligh to his second son, George (whose elder brother, John, resigned all interest therein), and from that day to this the inheritance has passed, without a break, from father to first-born son, and, with only one exception, the owner of Whiligh has borne the name of George.

The author of the following Memoirs, the third George Courthope of Whiligh, did not write the story of his life until some forty years after he first set out upon his travels; it is therefore not surprising that his memory on certain points was not altogether trustworthy. This is chiefly shown in the matter of dates, but it is possible that some of the mistakes are merely copyists' errors, for, as will be seen by the short prefatory note by Mr. Ferrers, the transcriber, the two neatly written volumes at Whiligh do not contain the original narrative, nor even the first copy, but are a transcript of a transcript. In cases of undoubted inaccuracies, as in the notices of the Interregnum Parliaments and Charles II.'s coronation, we can only plead for our author that even so great a man as the Earl of Clarendon, when writing of what had

happened in days gone by, was not free from the crime of 'mixing his dates.'

To Sir George Courthope, looking back in old age to the time of his youth, his 'Wanderjähre' would loom large in memory. Unless there have been errors of transcription, he believed that he had been abroad from 1635 to the end of 1640, whereas he was only absent from England from October 1636 to Christmas 1639: but during that time he went considerably further afield than was usual amongst the young gentlemen of that day, not only studying and travelling in France, and going into Switzerland and Italy, but extending his journey 'out of Europe,' as it was then considered, to Malta and to Constantinople. Excepting a very alarming experience at Mitylene he had little in the way of adventure, but he visited many interesting places, and, owing to the absence of the Grand Signior, saw more of Constantinople than strangers generally succeeded in doing.

Within four years after his return to England, he succeeded to the family estates. He passed safely through the troublous times of the Civil Wars, and although his loyalty to the King was undoubted, his estates were never sequestrated. This was, of course, partly due to the fact that he was never in arms: partly also to his official position at the Alienation Office, which was early removed from Oxford back to London, with the result that its officers were not mixed up with the doings of the King and Court. Even when it was discovered that they had been transmitting money to the King at Oxford they were let off with a reprimand, probably because it was considered that they were only sending in fines, &c., legally due to the Sovereign, not personal assistance for carrying on the war. Also the fact of his being the holder of a patent office was one which would appeal to the legal mind of the Puritan lawyer statesmen.

But he was certainly fortunate to escape so easily, for when, in 1656, Major-Gen. Goffe set to work to collect evidence against the Sussex candidates for Parliament, there was no lack of proof of Courthope's 'delinquency,' especially in relation to the petition for a treaty with the King in the spring of 1648, which he had not only promoted but had carried up to London himself (see 'Thurloe State Papers,' v. 341, 382, 383).

In 1653 the Alienation Office shared the fate of its great neighbour the Chancery, and was 'put down,' but was re-erected

in the following year and the Commissioners reinstated, on promise to 'hold their places by ordinance of Parliament.' This they got the young King's permission to do. They were, however, watched and controlled by a new Receiver, a strong Parliament man and a kinsman of Denis Bond. They contrived, in spite of him, to secure a small sum of money and send it to the King. The fact was known, but, as it could not be proved that the money had gone into Charles II.'s hands, the charges against them fell to the ground; and they managed to keep their places until the Restoration, when they were confirmed in them by the King.

Courthope says very little about his religious opinions in his Memoirs. He distinctly states that he was a Protestant, which in those days meant a Church of England man rather than a Non-conformist. With some risk to his safety, or at any rate to his comfort, he declined to attend Roman rites on shipboard; but that was the almost universal usage of English Churchmen in those days, when attendance on its services would be looked upon as almost equivalent to joining the Roman Communion. That it was not the result of bigotry is shown by his pleasant intercourse with the English Jesuit College at Rome, and his courteous attentions to Cardinal Francisco Barberini, 'Our Protector.'

Evelyn's 'Diary' gives us a very interesting picture of the attitude of an English Churchman during the Interregnum. No doubt Courthope, like Evelyn, would avail himself of the rites of his own Church whenever he could obtain them; but would resort to his parish church on a Sunday, that he might not be suspected of Papistry (counting himself fortunate if his minister, like Evelyn's, was 'presbyterianly ordained' and a quiet, peaceable man), and would make up for having to listen to extempore prayers and discourses of which he did not approve by reading the sermons of his own divines and 'saying the Common Prayer' in his own house (see p. 141, below).

On the great festivals he would, if possible, secure the services of a priest of his own Church, who would celebrate the Holy Eucharist in private; and if, as is probable, he was much in London, engaged in his official work, he would be able to hear Archbishop Usher at Lincoln's Inn, and to resort to the little church of St. Gregory 'by Paul's,' where the ruling powers

connived at the use of the Liturgy long after it was forbidden elsewhere.

On one occasion at least Courthope was brought into immediate contact with the Protector, and that in a manner which shows the confidence he felt in Oliver's judgment and fairness. His election for Sussex in the second Protectorate Parliament was as already mentioned, opposed by Major-Gen. Goffe (and others), and they presented a petition against him, accusing him of sending money to the King and using the Book of Common Prayer. Courthope straightway carried a complaint against them to the Protector, apparently obtained easy access to him, and demanded admission to the House. Cromwell referred him to Lawrence, the President of the Council. A day was fixed for hearing the case before the Council, and meanwhile Courthope resorted again to the Protector, 'desiring him' to be present himself at the hearing, as his petitioner's 'life and fortune was at stake.' The day arrived, and the Protector arrived also, but with his mind so full of the proceedings of General Blake at Santa Cruz that Courthope's cause was laid aside, and in the end, by the mediation of Philip, Lord Lisle, the charge was dropped, and Courthope took his seat in the House, 'nobody anyway' interrupting him.

He was elected for East Grinstead in the Convention Parliament which met in April 1660, and heartily joined in the measures taken for recalling the King.

In spite of his known loyalty, George Courthope seems to have been somewhat anxious about his position after the King's return, owing no doubt to the fact that he had held office under the Parliament (although by the King's permission) and also had been a member of one of the Protector's Parliaments. There was no real need for alarm. Charles II. confirmed him in his post at the Alienation Office, granted him a place in the Band of Pensioners in succession to his late uncle, and knighted him at the Coronation. However, to make all safe, Courthope applied for and obtained a pardon under the Great Seal. These pardons were given out in very large numbers during the early days of the Restoration, and some of them (although not nearly all) are entered upon the patent roll. That to Courthope follows the usual forms, granting pardon for all acts of treason, &c., committed by him by colour of the authority of any assembly reputed or calling itself a Parliament, or of the Keepers of the Liberties of England (the name assumed

by the Long Parliament for official or legal purposes, writs, warrants, &c.), the Lord Protector, the commander-in-chief of the army, or others; with further pardon of all other offences saving complicity in the Irish rebellion, offences against the statutes against seminary priests, &c., and certain others specified.

This pardon, which is still in the possession of Mr. Courthope of Whiligh, is written on a large, fine sheet of parchment. The elaborate initial 'C' of 'Carolus' encloses a very carefully finished portrait of Charles II. The first line, 'Carolus Secundus, Dei Gratia,' is in large shaded brown letters, with highly ornamented initials. Above, in the centre, are the royal arms, bordered on one side by roses, carnations, and a lion holding a banner with the Lion of England crowned; and on the other side by thistles, single pinks, another flower (apparently a wild rose), and the unicorn carrying a banner with the harp of Ireland crowned. Below are butterflies, perched on the ribbon bearing the motto *Dieu et mon droit.* The document is countersigned 'Barker.' The Great Seal (broken) in green wax, is attached by a parchment label.

At the Public Record Office is the signed petition of George Courthope to the King for a place as Gentleman Pensioner. The essential part of this will be found on p. 138, *note*, below.

A word may be said of the transcriber of the Memoirs, who signs himself Edmund Ferrers, and states that he copied the manuscript at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1774, from a copy taken by Mr. Woodward, of East Hendred. There can be little doubt of Ferrers's identity with the Edmund Ferrers who matriculated at Christ Church in 1768 and took his M.A. degree there in 1774. One of his fellow students was George Woodward, junior, son of the rector of East Hendred. From him, no doubt, Ferrers would hear of the document, and a friendship with the Woodwards might naturally bring him into contact with the owner of Whiligh, Mrs. Woodward's brother. Ferrers was the son of a barrister of the Inner Temple. He afterwards became rector of Cheriton, Hants, and Wroughton, Wilts, and was made a chaplain-in-ordinary to the King. His transcript is written in a small, perfectly clear hand, and on the blank left-hand pages of the volumes he has added many notes, chiefly of a geographical nature. Those which have any point of interest are retained, but a large number, giving merely the latitude and longitude of the places

mentioned, are omitted. Ferrers's notes are distinguished from those of the editor by being placed within inverted commas and followed by the initials [E. F.]

A fact which gives an added interest to these Memoirs is that Sir George was not the only one of his family to leave a record of his journeyings in the early part of the seventeenth century. In 'Purchas his Pilgrimes' will be found 'The Journall of Master Nathaniell Courthope, his voyage from Bantam to the Islands of Banda,' during the years 1616–1620. Captain Nathaniel Courthope, who for four years held the island of Pulroon against the Dutch, unaided and alone, is called by Dr. S. R. Gardiner 'one of the noblest of those by whose unflagging zeal the English Empire in the East was founded.' He was a member of the branch of the family then seated at Goddard's Green. His 'Journal' has been again printed (from a copy of the autograph original by William Courthope, Esq., Somerset Herald) in vol. xxvii. of the 'Sussex Archæological Collections.' [1]

S. C. L.

January 1907.

[1] The transcript of these interesting Memoirs was placed at the disposal of the Council of the Royal Historical Society by G. J. Courthope, Esq., of Whiligh, through the good offices of W. J. Courthope, Esq., C.B., and Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, K.C.B., an Honorary Life Fellow of the Society, both of whom have taken much interest in the preparation of this edition, for which Mrs. W. J. Courthope has kindly supplied the copy for the printers.

PREFACE

(BY THE TRANSCRIBER)

July 1801.—These Memoirs were transcribed by me in or about the year 1774, at Christ Church, Oxford, from a copy taken by the Rev. Mr. Woodward, of East Hendred, Berks, from the original, then in the possession of Sir George Courthop's great-grandson, George Courthop, Esq., of Uckfield, Sussex. Mr. Woodward married his sister Albinia. His son, George Courthop, Esq., repaired and re-inhabited Whiligh (*margin*, A.D. 1735, October the tenth), which from these Memoirs appears to have been the family seat of the Courthops from the year 1620[1] to July 11, 1801 (the day on which I am writing there)—181 years.

EDMUND FERRERS.

It also appears from these Memoirs that Mr. Courthop, the present owner of Whiligh, is the sixth in succession of his family who has enjoyed the office of Commissioner in the Alienation Office. Sir George Courthop, his father, and grandfather, and son Edward were Commissioners. Mr. Courthop of Uckfield was a Commissioner, and resigned the office to his son.

Sir George says that the office is under the immediate inspection of the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; that its object is the improvement of the King's revenue, and its annual receipts amounted in 1642 to near 16,000*l.*

The King was at Shrewsbury[2] when Sir George received his appointment, *clogged* (as he says) with the payment of 1,300*l.* to such persons as Lord Culpeper, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, should name. [E. F.]

[1] But see p. 95, above.

[2] Should be 'Wolverhampton.' See note on p. 137, below.

MEMOIRS OF SIR GEORGE COURTHOP

I WAS born in Sir George Rivers' house called Chafford in the County of Kent (my mother being his daughter) and was christened the third of June in the year 1616, as by the register in Penshurst Parish in Kent may be seen: some time after, Sir George Courthop, my father, left that place and kept house at Whiligh in the County of Sussex where I now dwell.[1] I being about 4 years old, my mother died, and I with my two sisters Ann and Frances Courthop (the former was never married, the latter was married to Sir Charles Howard of Bookham in Surry and by her he had the Lord of Effingham[2] that now is) were put out to school at Westram in the County of Kent, they to a gentlewoman whose name was Isley, to be taught to work and write and dance, and play upon some sorts of musick; I was put to a Grammar school, which was there kept by one M^{r} Walter, that had been my father's poor Scholar in Cambridge; with him I staid seven years, till I could make true Latin both in prose and verse; and then was removed to Merchant Taylours school in London, and from thence to Westminster, where I remained till I went to Oxford, which (I take it) was in the year 1630,[3] and there I was placed in University

[1] The first Sir George's father, John Courthope of Whiligh, Esq., died in 1615, and is buried at Ticehurst. His son George probably removed to the family seat not long after the younger George was born.

[2] Sir Charles Howard died in 1678. His eldest son, Francis, succeeded as 5th Lord Howard of Effingham in 1681, on the death of Charles Howard, third Earl of Nottingham, without direct heirs. The reference to him as the Lord 'that now is' shows that the Memoirs were not written, or at any rate finished, until after 1681.

[3] According to Foster's *Alumni*, the true date was two years later; *i.e.* he matriculated June 22, 1632, aged sixteen, and took his B.A. degree on May 8, 1635. If these dates are correct he was only for a few weeks under the care of Dr. Bancroft, who resigned the mastership of University College on August 23, 1632, on his appointment as Bishop of Oxford. Dr. Thos. Walker was elected in his place on August 31.

College an upper Commoner; for we had no Fellow Commoners though they were Noblemens' Sons; the Master of that College at my coming thither was Dr Bancroft who was after Bishop of Oxford; he kept us to do as much exercise in the house as any poor scholar or Servitor did: and we were fined upon omission, and reproached if we did not make our exercises, either in the Hall or in the Chapel, better than the lower Commoners or Servitors. After I had been two years there, I answered in the Schools under-batchelour, under Sir Henry Chicheley; and at three years end, as a Knight's eldest son, I commenced Batchelour of Arts. The day I took my degree, I made a great dinner in the hall, at my own expense, which came to above 40*l*., and had liberty to invite what persons I would to it, of what degree soever they were in the University. I staid there two years after I had taken this degree, and did most of my exercise for my Master's degree, after I had perfected my exercise for my Batchelor's; but did not make an end of them, nor did I take the degree of Master of Arts upon me; because in the year 1635 (as I guess) I was taken from the University to go and travel beyond the seas with Francis Lennard, Lord Dacre of Herstmonceaux in Sussex.[1]

As we were sailing between Rye and Dieppe, we were taken by an Algerine, who plunder'd us of all our fresh meat, and 100*l*. in money taken from Monsr Battilliere that was Secretary to the Earl of Liecester, that was then Embassador in France:[2] my Lord

[1] The journey to France could not have been so early as 1635, as the Earl of Leicester did not go over as Ambassador Extraordinary (Lord Scudamore being Ambassador in ordinary) until May 1636. As is shown by the next note, Courthope and Lord Dacres crossed in October 1636. The former was therefore not much more than one academic year at Oxford after taking his degree.

[2] This incident enables us to fix the date almost exactly. In his despatch of October 23–November 2 the Earl of Leicester writes, 'The seas are now dangerous, by reason of the Dunkirks; and the other day, Battiere, my secretary (who hath lately bin with your honor) in his returne between Rye and Deepe, being in the English passage boat with my Lord Dacres and some other gentlemen, they were met by the Dunkirks, who (notwithstanding they were English and provided with good passports) used violence against them, and robb'd them, taking away from Battiere, in particular, amongst other things . . . about 50*l* in Spanish pistols . . . and if the sight of a Holland man of warre had not made them goe away, they had used them worse. The particular declaration . . . I will send. God willing, the next weeke.' *Leicester to Coke, S. P. France*, vol. 102; *printed in Collins's 'Sydney Papers.'* Courthope calls the pirate ship an 'Algerine,' but, apart from Leicester's statement, this is shown to be incorrect by the context. A 'Turk' would not have cared in the least whether the goods were French or English.

was forced, tho' very seasick, to be carried by two men on the bed he lay on, upon the deck to testify to them that there were no French goods in the ship, but being a Nobleman of England he hired it, to carry him and his company over to France. When we came to Paris we staid there some two months, to visit the Noblemen and Gentry of England that were there, who returned all our visits to our great satisfaction. When these civilities were ended, my Lord's Governour, by name Monsr. Dupont, persuaded him to go down the river of Loire, to Orleans, Tours, Blois, Saumere, Angiers, to see which of these he liked best, and there to stay and learn the language: when we had seen all these cities, my Lord chose Angiers to live in: I having had a recommendation from Sir William Champion[1] to a Scotchman seven leagues beyond Saumares, that was Master of an Academy in Loudoun (his name Strachan) went there, and so my Lord and I parted by consent, that we might the better apply to get the French tongue, to give our friends satisfaction.

I had lived in the town of Loudoun 13 months, in which time I had a great sickness, much about the 21st year of my age;[2] the spotted fever struck in, after coming out upon me, but by physick was forced out again: this fever was occasioned (as I and my Physician guessed) by a fall I had into a wine cellar, in a winter night, at the lodging of M^{r} Jervais Pierrepoint, brother to the Earl of Kingston, who then sojourned in this town on the same occasion; the cellar door was to be opened in a certain passage that led out of the house into the street: I going thro' the passage into the street to make water, the maid of the house, having occasion to draw wine, the time that I was out of doors in the street, left the door (which was in the manner of a trap-door) open; I coming in and finding no candle in the passage, thought the passage as firm and close as when I went out; but after my first step into the house, going to fetch another, I found no place to sett my foot on, so that I fell down into the cellar; and my foot that found no bottom to fix on, was dashed violently against one

[1] A near neighbour of the Courthopes. Seated at Combwell, in Kent, only about three miles from Whiligh. Sir William commanded a regiment for Charles I., and was killed in a sally from Colchester during the siege in 1648. In later times there were many marriages between the Campions and the Courthopes.

[2] This fits in exactly with the true dates. Courthope's twenty-first birthday was on June 3, 1637, when he had been at Loudoun some five months or more.

of the stone stairs that went down into the cellar; and calling for help, when they came to me, going to rise up, I could not stand on the foot, which upon search was found dislocated; by reason of the dislocation, I was advised to keep my bed to ease my leg; and laying long upon my back to give my leg rest, the fever took me, which held me to the danger of my life for the space of four months, at the end of which time, I began to mend, which was manifested to the Doctors that I made use of by a scurfe that came all over my body, under which were millions of lice; so that when the scurfe was peeled off from my body and the lice taken away, there was new flesh appeared as if I had been newly born. When I had recovered strength enough to go abroad, I resolved to quit that place; but before I left it, intended to try whether the possession of some Nuns in that town by the Devil, as the Jesuits gave out (and had a form in Latin to exorcise them before they expelled them out of the Nun) were a real truth or a mere imposture: The Lord Purbeck's Lady [1] coming to the town, being a Roman Catholic, to see this exorcism, sent for me to come to her: when I came, all her discourse was of the wonders these Devils shewed, and how after diverse prayers and ejaculations used by the Jesuits, the Devil was expelled, and the Nun came to her natural temper again: she desired me to wait on her thither, that she might receive the Communion and confess to one of those Fathers: I told her I was a Protestant, and should not be welcome to them, and was a Heretick in the Faith that these Nuns professed, as those were in the Gospel who were cast out by our blessed Saviour; she replied that it might be the means of my conversion, and urged me so far that I agreed to wait on her, provided she would ask the Nun that was possessed and exorcised that day, to tell me what was wrote in a Paper that I should hold in my hand, and her Honour should see what I wrote in it before I went, upon condition she should not reveal it to any of the

[1] Frances, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, married against her will to Sir John Villiers (Buckingham's elder brother), afterwards created Viscount Purbeck. When her husband's feeble-mindedness developed into insanity she fled from him with Sir Henry Howard. In 1635 she was committed to the Fleet, but escaped and entered a nunnery in Paris, which, however, she left in July 1636 (see Lord Scudamore's letter, *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, under date July 11–21). There is a mention of this 'possessed nun' in the Earl of Ancaster's MSS. Young Lord Willoughby saw her at Loudoun in 1649, when she was restored to her right mind and was prioress of her convent. See also Evelyn's *Diary*, under date August 5, 1670.

Fathers, for she had been told the Devil could foretell things past, and things to come, and any other question that was asked of them, in their time of exorcism. The next day I waited on her to the nunnery of the Urselines, for so the Jesuits had named them: when I came to the place, one of the Nuns cries out, *Le voila un Hugenot* (Yonder is a Protestant) meaning me. I saw all the people fastening their eyes upon me, and demanded in Latin of the Father, if I might be permitted to ask one question: he answered me I might, for the Devil could answer any question in any language:

I then went on and told the Father that by the same reason the Devil knew me to be a Protestant he might know another man to be one. I demanded whether there were any more standing there, knowing Mr Covell who went with me to be one. After many prayers said and conjurations to make the Devil give me and the company satisfaction I was told I could not be answered till the Nun had received the wafer and an Honorable Lady (a stranger) had made her confession and received the Eucharist, which being done and the exorcism of the Devils going on I was called upon by the Lady Purbeck and one of the Fathers to come and remove the Nun's head (as she lay flat on her back) from the ground. Mr Covell and I at one side and two Papists with the Lady Purbeck on the other side: but though all five of us lifted together we could make no motion in her head, but it remained as immovable as a Church: The Father told us the Devil was entered into her head and that was the reason it was fixed to the floor of the room but by his Prayers and the form of exorcism he used he would get it out and then one of our fingers could make it stir this we saw performed, by what juggling tricks was not made known to us. Upon this the Lady Purbeck came and asked if this were less than a miracle, I answered it might be a matter of wonder but no miracle; she demanded if I would stay to know what was in the paper in my hand and she would know of the Father if I should have satisfaction: She asked him and his answer was *Nimia curiositas in facie populi post miraculum factum.* After I had received this answer I went home and left them that were there to see the end of the exorcism of the day. I went afterwards to take my leave of the Lady Purbeck; she being to leave the town and going for Rome. I found her fully possessed of the Truth that the Nuns have the Devil in them for some certain time

and that the Prayers and forms of exorcism there used by the Jesuits were the cause of the Devils leaving them till he re-entered again.

Being to leave the place I was diligent in making enquiries of all persons of my acquaintance whether Protestants or Papists how this possession of the Devils in these Nuns was originally brought into the town: there was a Protestant of good quality in the town that told me if I could persuade the Master of the Academy, whose name was Strachan, and my Landlord, to open the intrigue to me he could do it, provided there came no prejudice to him by it: being thus sett on I told my Landlord I was going away and never should see him again and knowing him to be a learned man (as indeed he was) and laughed to see what Juggling was put upon the people, desired him to give me his positive sense of the possession and exorcism there used by the Jesuits: He answered he would go the first days journey with me out of the town and at our Inn he would go so far as to tell me what he knew of it; the day being come and the night having brought us to our Inn, after supper I desired him to make good his promise, he told me he should do it provided I would make good a promise to him that I should never disclose it to any Person or return to the town again to work his ruin by it. I giving him full assurance of both, he then told me Cardinal Richlieu, who was the great Minister of State in those days, was resolved to build a town where he was born and call it by his name; this place of his birth was some eight miles from this Loudoun, and he finding this town full of Protestants and a city where was a Castle, Courts of Justice and a great trade driven was resolved to depopulate it and carry the Garrison of the Castle the courts of Justice and the trade to his town called Richlieu,[1] all which he lived to see performed: and finding no better way to effect it, sent down these Jesuits and Nuns to make an exorcism there, whereby the Protestants' Religion might be disgraced; and such who turned to be Papists upon sight of this wonder. if they would leave the town and go to inhabit in his town they sho'd be seven years free from all imposition and pay two capons a year during that time for rent:[2] these privileges and

[1] 'Richelieu, built by the Cardinal in 1635; 152 miles S.W. of Paris.' [E.F.]

[2] Strachan's curious tale evidently ends at this point, the rest being an addition of Courthope's own, supplied from the information of the son in 1644.

the other juggle so effectually wrought, that the Castle was demolished, the courts of Justice removed and all ways and means that brought profit to the town were carried to Richlieu and that being peopled and his work done the Jesuits and Nuns left the town: and my landlord's son (who came over to England in the year 1644), told me the vizard was taken off and the juggle manifest to all the world, and, though he was a Papist, he could not but acknowledge to me he never had faith enough to believe it to be a truth.

Having parted with my landlord Strachan and heard his sense of the possession I went on towards Lyons and took Orange and Avignion in my way for Geneva, where I had a bill of exchange for 100*l.* to carry me to Rome; when I came to Geneva I found the plague very hot there, but there were in the city some of my countrymen, by name M^{r} Cecil Tufton, brother to the Earl of Thanet, S^{r} Edward Cowper, son of S^{r} W^{m} Cowper of the Assurance Office, M^{r} John Tracey afterwards Lord Tracey, and M^{r} Francis Twisden, the Judge's brother.[1]

After they had searched me in relation to my bodily health before I was suffered to come into the town, they asked me of my Religion, I told them I was a Protestant (no Papist being suffered to lodge there above one night without leave of the Council) they brought me into the city, and some of the Council were sent to tell me I was welcome, and brought me a couple of flaggons of wine and some fruit and told me if I staid there I must be subject to such laws as they lived under and conform myself to their manner of living, which upon discourse I found was, to be at service every

The French *Gasetteer* says that the town was 'built in 1637.' If Richelieu had such ambitious designs for the future of his town they were frustrated by his death. Evelyn, who visited it in 1644, writes, 'Since the Cardinal's death, it is thinly inhabited, standing so much out of the way, and in a place not well situated for health or pleasure.'

[1] *Cecil Tufton*, youngest son of Nicholas, 1st Earl of Thanet, and of Lady Frances Cecil. Born 1619; ob. 1682.

Sir William Cowper, bart. (of Scotland, and in 1642–3 of England), of Hertford Castle; collector of imposts in the Port of London. The Assurance office was 'on the left side of the Royal Exchange' (Anderson's *Commerce*, ii. 203).

John Tracy, grandson of Sir John Tracy, made Lord Tracy in 1642–3 at the age of seventy-two. John Tracy the younger was born in 1617, matriculated at Oxford in 1633, succeeded his father (Robert) as 3rd Lord in 1662, and died in 1686–7.

Francis Twisden, a younger son of Sir William Twisden, bart., soldier, courtier, and scholar, of Roydon Hall, East Peckham, Kent.

Sunday morning by seven o'clock and all the week after to frequent the Church as often as there was any preaching there, and if I missed at any time the Council took notice of it & sent to see whether it was by any indisposition of body or neglect; if the latter the Minister by name Deodati[1] was ordered with much sweetness in his fraternal reprehension to let you know the Council took notice of your default, and if you did go on absenting yourself from the Church you would lose your reputation in the City.

Having made enquiry for my Merchant whose name was Wright I found there was no such man living there but going to one Burlimachi a Merchant,[2] he told me my bill of exchange was mistaken and they had directed it false, for it should have been Genoa instead of Geneva: which was in Italy and in my way to Rome: being without money I asked Burlymachi if he would let me have some money upon my Bill of Exchange, which was to M^r^ *Wright* of Genoa in Italy, he answered he would send my Bill to M^r^ Wright and if I would stay till he heard whether M^r^ *Wright* would accept of it he would furnish me and give me credit for the rest in Italy which I was forced to do being to get some of my countrymen to bear me company into Italy. After the usual time of hearing from M^r^ Wright was come, I went to Burlimachi and he told me my Bill was good and I might have what money I pleased. I then had got M^r^ Tracey's consent to bear me company into Italy, but the city of Geneva being so visited with the Plague, no other place city or town would let us come into it, unless we lay in a Lazaretto forty days to air ourselves without the town; this being our case, we, hearing of the Duke of Savoy's Secretary being to come to Geneva, when he was come M^r^ Tracey and I, with our landlord, went to visit him and desired him that he would

[1] 'This was probably the friend of Milton to whom some of his Latin Elegiacs are inscribed. Milton was in Italy in 1638, and from these Memoirs it appears that Sir George Courthope must have been there between the years 1635 and 1641.' [E.F.]

Mr. Ferrers's suggestion is not correct. This is Giovanni Diodati (1576-1649), professor of theology and head of the Reformed Church at Geneva. Milton's friend, Charles Diodati, was the son of Giovanni's brother Theodore, who had settled in England. Milton was staying with Dr. Diodati at Geneva when he heard of his friend's death, and there wrote the *Epitaphium*. John Evelyn visited the Doctor in 1646, and 'had a great deal of discourse with that learned person.'

[2] The Burlamacchi were a family of wealthy merchants and financiers. The best known of them is Philip, who settled in England, and often assisted Charles I. and also the Queen of Bohemia.

suffer us to go as his servants with him to Turin in Piedmont where his Master kept his Court. After some hesitation he said, he had but such a number of persons in his pass and could not enlarge them, and if he did, before we came into Turin we must be aired as afore said: We were willing to undergo that, so the request was granted—At last he agreed, and told us when he went away, and bid us meet him three leagues out of the city, which we performed, and he, coming to his Master's dominions conveyed us to Turin, and so ordered it that we had liberty to come into the city, and to visit our Lord Embassadour who then was the Lord Fielding, Earl of Denbigh;[1] whom we desired to return thanks to the Secretary answerable to our obligations.

After some stay at Turin, we having a desire to go forward, told my Lord Ambassadour of our resolutions; he answered there was now an opportunity, such a one as we could not have expected, which was, that the Prince of Joinville, the Duke of Guise's son,[2] was going to the Duke of Florence, and that he had sent for the Duke's galleys to meet him at Savona, and that he would recommend us to the Prince, whereby our expences would be defrayed and the journey made with more ease and safety. We accepted of his Lordship's offer and the next day he brought us to the Prince whereby after complimenting he told us he had received information that there were 2000 Spaniards drawn out from the Garrison of Milan and other places under the Spanish dominions in Italy, to take him in his passage: for there was then an implacable war between the French and Spaniards; we replied that we would run the same hazard with his Highness, and so agreed to wait on him when so ever he should take his journey into Italy. The time being come we were furnished with horses of his, as belonging to his train. We had gone but one day's journey but sending out the scouts the day following to see if the coast was clear, they brought in news of 2000 Spaniards behind such a mountain, where we were to pass: upon which the Prince resolved to stay till he had sent to the Duke of Savoy for forces able to encounter these Spaniards;

[1] Basil Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, after being two years in Venice, was transferred to Turin in the autumn of 1637. He remained there a year, returning to Venice in the autumn of 1638.

[2] The Duc de Guise, driven out of France by the influence of Richelieu, had settled with his family at Florence in 1631.

we, not knowing what time might be spent in their raising and coming to his aid, desired leave to go before to Genoa, where my bill of exchange was; and when we heard his Highness was arrived at Florence we would wait on him there: He very willingly gave us free liberty to go, and wished us a good journey, and that the Spaniards might not set upon us instead of Frenchmen: we returned answer that we had the Lord Fielding's pass to shew that we were Englishmen and that he had formerly been Embassador at Venice and so was known by most persons of Quality in Italy: After having taken our leave of the Prince we pursued our journey.

Passing by a Castle called by name Mon Mellian,[1] we were there carried before the Governour, who demanded of what nation we were; we told him Englishmen; he desired us to make that appear to be a truth; we told him we could no otherwise do it in that place, than by shewing him a pass we had from the Lord Embassadour Fielding, who was by His Majesty's command gone from Venice to Turin to reside there during his Majesty's of Great Britain's pleasure, which we producing, after reading it he *told us* that he knew the Embassadour who was a brave person, and that for his sake he would further us in our journey, and so directed us to Savona where we embarked for Genoa; but before we parted, he enquired if the Prince of Joinville was not at Turin: we told him we had heard of such a person's being there, and would remain there till such time as the Duke of Florence should send his Gallies to transport him to his court.

Coming to Genoa, I enquired out M^r^ Wright, who readily furnished me with money; and having staid in that city time sufficient for viewing the walls and other memorable things there, we took shipping in an English vessell for Leghorn; where being arrived I there met an old acquaintance of mine at Oxford by name M^r^ Richard Jennings, son of S^r^ John Jennings, *Knight* of the Bath, living close by S^t^ Albans in Herts who had been some time in Italy and had learnt the language; and was *then* residing at Florence where the Duke and the Grandees of the Court delighted much in his company; who was a person for all kinds of divertissement; so that after he had made an end

[1] 'Montmélian, in Savoy, 27 miles E. of Grenoble; 8 S.E. of Chambéry.' [E. F.]

with his Merchant and we had seen what was worth seeing in the Port and Town we accompanied him to Florence, where he being acquainted with the great Duke's Gentleman, we had an opportunity of viewing all the rarities in his palace, but more especially in his Chapel and closet in which there is such a collection as I believe no Prince in Europe can show a better. Having made our abode there about six weeks, I was willing to go for Rome, but M^r^ Tracey falling sick, and liking the place, resolved to stay there some months with M^r^ Jennings and gave me leave to proceed in my journey to Rome; where being come after five days' journey with the Procacio, which is the messenger or carrier, with whom I had agreed both for my diet and horse. He gave me very spare diet, because I would nōt allow much money to the Priest that attended them at their Inns for a mass for a prosperous journey. He at Monte-fiascon set before me at dinner the hind leg of a fox upon a Fast Day. I guessing the affront to be because I went not to Mass with them as other passengers did, rose from the table without finding fault with anything; so went and procured some bread, and with wine for which the place is famous,[1] made up a dinner; and when the time of taking horse was come, I went on with the rest of the Company, who had taken notice how I was served, and so made answer that when I came to Rome I should return him a trick for his trick, which I did after this manner: There being a custom when you pay the remainder of your money, that is for the whole journey, which is the last day, the Messenger sets a plate on the table to see what every one will give him for his care of you the time you are with him; but alighting from my horse, I went to the place where I heard Dick Dewes (brother to Simon Dewes) was with Sir Richard Ducie[2] my countryman, who lending me an Italian they had for their servant,

[1] See Evelyn's *Diary*. 'We came to Montefiascone . . . heretofore Falernum, as renowned for its excellent wine as now for the story of the Dutch Bishop, who lies buried in Faviano's church with this epitaph:

"*Propter Est, Est, Dominus meus mortuus est.*"

Because having ordered his servant to ride before, enquire where the best wine was, and there write *Est*, the man found some so good that he wrote *Est, Est*, and the Bishop drinking too much of it died.'

[2] Sir Richard Ducie, knight and bart., son of Sir Robert Lord Mayor of London, &c., who died in 1634. Sir Richard was sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1637–8. On the breaking out of the Civil War he espoused the King's cause, was in Bristol at its surrender, and compounded for his estate upon its articles. (See *Cal. of Committee for Compounding*, p. 1017.)

I sent what money was due to him for my journey, without giving him any thing for his pains.

I made a stay of two months at Rome (being resolved to come thither again after I had been at Naples) and employed my time in viewing all the most famous churches, the Vatican, the Pope's Palace, the Pyramids and Obelisks and Pillars, which they say came out of Solomon's Temple, which are in S^t^ Peter's Church in Vaticano; in which church they tell you are the bodies of S^t^ Peter and S^t^ Paul buried, the spear that was thrust into our Saviours side, some of Noah's Ark, some of the milk of the blessed Virgin, with many other relicks of Saints which I shall not here set down, nor can I remember, but refer the reader to the book of the Wonders which are to be seen in Rome, which is everywhere to be had. After I had satisfied myself with such rareties as I went to see, those of my countrymen whom I found there, had been at Naples and returned to Rome again; hearing them so much commend Naples and that being the last city in Italy and a Port-town, where I might take shipping for any place, I resolved to go and see it, which I compassed in five days; There I found Sir Edward Cooper and Ferdinando Marsham: the former I had left at Geneva, who told me that M^r^ Tufton was gone from Naples by sea to Messina, with intention to pass from thence to Constantinople.

I staid in Naples about a fortnight, where I became acquainted with M^r^ Keridge's Factor (a Merchant who married my Mother-in-law's Sister) who told me M^r^ Tufton desired him if I came thither to let me know he would go to Malta, to see the island that did so annoy the Turks, with me, if I held any resolution and would come with him to Messina; after I had seen the three Castles which they call the Horse, Saddle and Bridle. I found an English ship called the *Prosperous*, Cap^tn^ Driver Commander, who upon M^r^ Kerridge's recommendation carried me to Messina, for a pair of Naples perfumed gloves; where being arrived, I was consigned to the same Merchant where M^r^ Tufton lodged: we being met, our discourse was wholly turned on our several voyages: He was always enticing me to go to Constantinople with him. I alledged that I came out of Christendom without my Father's leave or knowledge and could go and see Malta and return to Italy before he could hear where I was: but the Merchant Mr. Dove having wrote his letters sooner

than usual, brought in after supper two flasks of Syracuse wine which is the strongest wine that the Island of Sicily affords: and discerning what pity it was that two such old acquaintance meeting by chance out of Europe, should part, made a proposition that we should fling dice, whether he should go with me, or I with him: we both agreed and the lot fell upon me he throwing more than I did. After the lot was fallen we addressed ourselves to Captain Driver, who was bound for Smyrna, after he had taken some lading at Messina.

The time of our setting sail from Messina being come we both went aboard and sailed through Scylla and Charybdis both being in the gulph of Venice[1] and passed by Mount Ætna where in the night-time we could see huge flames of fire come out of the burning mountain, that were not to be perceived in the day. After some few days' sail, we came into the Archipelago, amongst many rocks, and there we were becalmed so that we were forced to steer to a Bay whose name I have forgot near Negropont[2] to take in some fresh water, ours being almost spent. When we came to an anchor in the Bay, we hung out the white flag of truce and traffick with the inhabitants. They did the like; so the Captain manned his Long-Boat with men and musquets, and sent them to treat with the Inhabitants for fresh water & fresh meat; if they would bring any down to the shore the next day we would give them such commodities as we had on board for them or ready money: but the Captain having heard that some Dutch ship, being at anchor there, went on shore in the night and stole away thirty sheep from them, would not agree to any traffick with them unless they gave pledges of their Inhabitants, for so many Christians as he should send on shore; to which they agreed, and so when a Christian was set on shore a Turk was brought on shipboard. I asked the Captain's advice whether I might go with safety the first day, but he answered they were People whose word and promise stood for nothing, if they had advantage on their side; so he desired me not to go. Mr Tufton would venture and did go. There was a Renegado came along with their Pledges,

[1] '*Venice.* Perhaps it should have been Messina; the Gulph, which is generally called the Pharos, is ten miles long and at Messina only a mile and half over. Scylla is on the Calabrian shore; Charybdis on the coast of Sicily. The Whirlpool is said to have been removed by the earthquake in 1783.' [E. F.]

[2] 'Negropont, the ancient Eubœa.' [E. F.]

an Italian, and from him we learnt, that if we had come ashore without taking pledges of them, they had laid an Ambuscade for us, that all our men had been cut off who had ventured to land, and gave us as a reason for so doing, that they had been robbed some five months before of a hundred goats and sheep, and they had an opinion that we were some of the persons coming for another booty. But we giving them knowledge that we were Englishmen, and not Frenchmen or Dutch, they were more open and free to us, and there was one amongst them whom they called a Chilabi, which is a Gentleman; He told us the next day there should be muttons and poultry brought down to the shore and coral and such like other commodities, so we shewed them English knives and tobacco and they said they would barter with us. In the middle of this discourse, the Captain's dinner was brought in; among the rest of the meat there was a leg of pork, at the sight whereof the Chilabi fell a crying; I asking the Interpreter what he meant by that flux of tears, he said now we had him on ship-board he did guess we would force him to eat pork, which he would rather die than do. We told him our intentions were not to put any abuse upon him, so caused the pork to be carried out to the sea men; and then he began to eat such as was set before him with confidence, and drank such beer and wine as was there, saying, he would send us to-morrow better wine and water than we had. The day being past and the warning piece shot off to let them know they must come aboard that were on shore, for the Turks were coming ashore. We parted very good friends, and the next day I ventured ashore upon pledges as aforesaid, but there were no houses nor persons near the Bay where we anchored, but those that trafficked with us came out of the country thereabouts, and brought down coral and quilted purses and brushes with poultry and muttons and we gave for them English knives, tobacco, shoes, stockings, gloves and painted boxes; and so, the day being spent, after we had walked a mile in the country, or thereabouts and brought down wild thyme which the soil did bear in great abundance, we returned to our ship and having taken in fresh water for our use we set sail for Smyrna; but we were so often becalmed, that we were thirteen weeks at sea going from Messina to Smyrna, which voyage Sir Sackville Crow performed with a fair wind in thirty-five days.

Being arrived at Smyrna I met with M^{r} Henry Chowne who

was Factor for Sir John Caldwell [1] and my countryman in Sussex who took me and Mr Tufton home to his house, where he entertained us very magnificently, and shewed us what was to be seen there; it being a Port town, and the chiefest rarity that was there was St Polycarp's tomb who lays buried there.

Having been there some time we were informed by the Consul who liveth there, whose name was Mr Bernard, that he intended to go up to Constantinople by land on horseback; we told him if he would be pleased to stay till we had seen Ephesus we would bear him company which he agreed to: so we bought Horses, and got a Janizary and a Druggerman, which is an Interpreter; and rode five days' journey to see the Ephesian Church, and Diana's Temple, which is built in a quagmire but sunk an incredible way in the earth so that we went down into it with a candle, but saw nothing but vast rooms under ground, supported by marble pillars: and much more lay above ground, enough to build a great city. We could learn nothing from the people who lived there being all poor and unlearned; only they shewed us a great marble Font, which was that in which St John baptized the People: and Aquæducts that were brought ten miles off, of a stupendous height to bring water into the city: So we staid one night there, lodging upon the ground in a poor Turk's house; and the next day returned towards Smyrna; it not being worth the pains and expence the Journey cost us. In our journey back we met with some wild Arabs, Thieves, at a Fountain drinking water with Sherbett, which is lemon juice and sugar boyled, and so melted in the water as they drink it. They all had Turkish bows and a quiver of arrows by their sides, and a sort of hatchets in their hands: but we being more in number than they, and pistols with us, they meddled not with us but rode away from us, so we had the benefit of the Fountain after they had left it.

Our time being come to set forwards for Constantinople, most of the Merchants in Smyrna accompanied us to Magnesia which was two days journey; There we were entertained by a Jew (who dealt with the Merchants at Smyrna) very splendidly after their manner which was all with baked meats: none roasted or boyled

[1] Sir John Cordell, sheriff of London in 1634, knighted in 1641; imprisoned as a delinquent in 1642. (See *Cal. S. P., Dom.*, 1641–3, p. 403). He was an important member of the East India Company, carried on a large trade with the Levant, and had 'factors' at the principal ports.

that I saw: after that the Table was covered with all sorts of dried sweetmeats; and when we were carried to Bed, there was nothing but a Quilt (a Turkey carpet) to cover us and a cushion for the bolster, so we lay all night in our clothes. The next day having brought provisions of meat and wine, which we carried for our use in hogskins, the Merchants returned and we went on our journey. After we had rode some seven hours, we came to a great building, much like our Tennis Courts where the Janizary told us we were to lay all night. This building they call a Cane,[1] as it is a receptacle for all Travellers and their Horses. When we entered into it we saw many Turks, Armenians and Greeks, who had taken up their lodgings there before we came. The Armenians had camels with them; and they carried great bales of silk and were tied to rings made on purpose in a wall of stone, that was raised all along the Cane, for travellers to lodge on and dress their meat upon about ten feet higher than where the camels and horses were tied below. The people who lived thereabouts attended at the Cane with chopped straw, and a sort of grain they put into it, to feed our horses: they then brought wooden spits and other vessells with fire to dress our meat. But wine they had none, but a spring of water which was near the Cane, which served both man and beast. After we had supped upon such meat and wine as we had brought with us, every man took his lodging upon the long wall, and no other bed but quilts that were brought with us, and vests that we wore to cover us, and our saddles instead of bolsters. About one o'clock in the night there were lights set up for the slaves to feed their camels and horses, so there was no sleeping after that hour and then every one was raised, and, after the cattle were fed, about three o'clock in the morning, we all one after another, left the Cane to be cleaned for those who came at night to lodge there. After this manner we travelled thro' the country, which is very little peopled: all inhabiting the great towns, and but very few of these being in our way, for I do not remember we passed through any town of note but the aforesaid. Some villages of six or eight houses we passed through whose names I have forgot, but we lodged in none but Canes for twenty days. The country we went through abounded with fertile valleys in which was very high grass but no cattle in it, and very good rivers running all along the low grounds in which were all sorts of seafowl. But we saw no people except

[1] *i.e.* khan.

those who came to us at the Canes to furnish us with necessaries and those [who] were travellers as we were, with whom we could have no converse, because we understood not their language. But when we approached near the Porte, we met with more company than when we were far from it, and being in three days' journey from it, in the morning about four oclock, as we passed by a wood, there came out near a hundred hares staring at us. They never stirred till they had seen us past them; but tho' we had guns we durst not kill one because the Janizary told us it was in the verge of the Great Turk's hunting and he must bear the blame if any one should come to know it: and it was not unlikely but some of our servants might speak of it when we were in the City.

The prospect of the city, when you come within six or eight miles of it, exceeds all imagination, the sea encompassing it every way, so that, let the wind blow where it listeth, some ships or other come in, and in the city are such stately high cypress trees and firs, that with the reflection of the golden spires that are upon their mosques, and the Great Turk's Seraglio, that it may not unfitly be called to resemble Paradise. When we went into the city we had all the dogs in the city following us, some with doublets on, catching at our feet: we asked the meaning of it, they told us the dogs could tell the inhabitants when there were strangers come to town. We passed by water from Pera[1] to Galata where our Ambassador dwelt,[2] who was S[r] Sackville Crow; for before our arrival S[r] Peter Rich[3] who was then in the city had delivered all power of an Ambassador into the hands of S[r] Sackville Crow. This gave occasion to him to send for our horses and servants and to lodge us in his house, together with M[r] Bernard the Consul of

[1] 'Pera, a suburb of Constantinople, as is Galata; they are both on the European side of the Strait. Scutari is opposite and upon the Asiatic side.' [E. F.]

[2] But then, as now, Pera seems to have been the usual dwelling-place of the ambassadors. George Sandys, in his *Relation of a Voyage*, &c. (see note on p. 127, below), speaks of 'ascending the vines of Pera' to the ambassador's house.

[3] Mis-script for Sir Peter Wych. He had long been entreating to be recalled, and Sir Sackville Crow was nominated his successor as early as 1635, but put off his going time after time, and only reached Constantinople in October 1638. Wych surrendered all papers, &c., and the Ambassador's house, but the Grand Signior was absent 'at the siege of Babylon' *i.e.* Bagdad, so that Wych could not get his dismissal, nor Crow be received. When a messenger was sent to the Grand Signior he returned answer to his Vizier to tell 'the old Ambassador' that ambassadors could not be licensed or discharged during his absence. Wych received his discharge on April 20, 1639, and left Constantinople shortly afterwards.

Smyrna and his retinue: telling us he was the King's representative there, and as we were gentlemen come for curiosity, it belonged to him to entertain us: and he would not suffer my Merchant to whom I was consigned (by name William Chapell, Factor to John Caldwell) to have me lodged in his house without leave from him.

Having reposed our selves two days and enjoying two nights quiet rest in our beds, we were desirous of going abroad to see the remarkable things that were to be seen. My Lord sent his Janizary and Interpreter with us, who, by leave of a Capi Aga, and the Great Turk's being at the seige of Babylon, gave us liberty to see one of the Grand Seignior's Seraglios at Scudra:[1] but we could not go into the best rooms, they being sealed up with his own seal, and Vizier Azems seal, which it was death to break open. In this Seraglio, which is one of the meanest he hath thereabouts, we saw some stately rooms in which were troughs of marble of great bigness to bathe in, and fountains hard by that brought water by cocks into those marble troughs, when he went to bathe. All the windows were of green, blue, yellow and all sorts of coloured glass, so that he could by that means represent his own body and those that were bathing with him in what colour he pleased, in which I found by them he took great delight. There we saw some presents that had been made him, of vests of gold, saddles richly set with jewels at the pommell, swords, pikes, lances all richly adorned with precious stones and some guns and plumes of feathers beset with jewels, the guns inlaid with rubies, emeralds, sapphires, and diamonds of great value, if they were right, as I am apt to believe they were, no prince nor potentate being of power sufficient to put an affront upon him. There were many pleasant walks and grass plots, in which were canals of water, and high cypress trees that beautified the places. But what I took to be most costly was the cielings of the rooms, which were, some of them, of Mosaic work that was very enormously done with nobs of gold.

From this place they carried me to a mosque in which they say Job was entombed, there being a Tomb all of silver wire on the outside; the inside mostly silver. But upon enquiry I found it to be the tomb of one Jupiter a Sultan that was there interred,

[1] 'Perhaps Scutari.' [E. F.] Uskudar is its Turkish name.

but who or what he was I could not learn. The next things they shewed us was Sancta Sophia, once a church of Christians, twice burnt, and re-edifyed by Justinian, the greatest part raised in an oval manner, with admirable pillars both for greatness and workmanship. Over these are galleries all paved with marble; and the roof is mosaique work, which is certain coloured glass cut four square: gilded, of great durance. The sides of this Temple are all marble, so is the floor. Underneath are great cisterns of marble to which the water is brought by the Aquæducts of the City. In this Temple as they say are the stones that our Saviour's clothes were washed upon; and under a Coppar pillar that is ever sweating in this church was the Blessed Virgin buried, if you will believe them. This Temple they say, was once, from East to West, two hundred and sixty feet long and one hundred and eighty feet high; so that it held, in the days of Bajazet the Great, six and thirty thousand Turks. It is reported, when it was entire, to have as many doors as days in the year, and one of these doors to have been made of the wood of Noah's ark. When Mahomet the Great took the city, he threw down the altars, defaced the images and made it an ordinary mosque; so that when I saw it there were but four doors, by one of which the Emperors rode up on horseback, the mounting being upon marble and large enough for a coach and horses to go up. In one of these galleries there is marble that is transparent.

Having viewed this stately structure, we passed into the city of Constantinople formerly called Byzantium of Byrza the Founder. It was taken by assault from the Persians; but after a siege of three years it was retaken by the Emperor Severus[1] and in process of time was made the Metropolitan city by Constantine[2] who amplified it and called it Constantinople, making it the seat of the Empire and endowed it with all the priviledges of Rome, so that the Citizens of one were free of the other. He once had thoughts of building it at Chalcedon, on the other side of the Thracian Bosphorus: but laying the platform at Chalcedon, certain eagles they say conveyed the lines of the workmen to the other side of the Straight and let them fall over at Byzantium, where upon the Emperor changed his resolutions as being appointed from above where to build. He bereaved Rome of all her ornaments and

[1] 'A.D. 194.' [E. F.] [2] 'About the year 812.' [E. F.]

brought in one year more to beautify it than had been carried away in twenty years. It is walled with stone and bricks intermixed, hath twenty-four gates, five whereof regard the land and nineteen the sea. There are Seven Hills which are crowned with seven heads of magnificent mosques all white marble, round in form with cupolas in which are high turretts (like the main-top of a ship), in which the Priest goes when he calls the people to prayers and there with as a loud voice as he can cry, he says in the Arabic tongue 'There is no God but one and Mahomet is his Prophet or Messenger' and then the People fall to praying which is usual about sunset. And after the sun is down, nobody walks the streets but he is in danger of being drubbed. This is to receive some blows upon the soles of his feet, as the Bastangi (who is the officer who punishes those that walk after sundown) shall appoint to be given for his offence, which is done with a Bull's Pizzle that makes their feet so swell that they are forced to go (presently after the punishment is inflicted) and hold their feet in sea water, which they say hinders the swelling. Having proceeded thus far, they desired us to go round the walls of it, upon which are made watch towers, that look towards the Black Sea, and into the Thracian Bosphorus; and in our going round they carried us into a tower in the midst of the sea which is called the Maiden Tower, and stands upon a rock; in it was a spring of fresh water which was easily tasted from the salt water: and the sea is so deep all round about the Haven that the King's best ships may unlade their burthens in the streets. From this tower they carried us into a place called the Hippodrome where they ride his horses that are managed for the great Saddle. In it they run horse races and use the flinging of darts one at the other on horseback, which they do with great dexterity. There is a hieroglyphical inscription, on a pillar of marble which is wrought very curiously, but it was so imperfect that we could not read it. Here is also a stately column of wreathed brass with three Serpents of brass on the top of it looking several ways in a triangle: hard by stands a great Colossus of nothing but several great stones, heretofore covered with brass, and another historical pillar carved far beyond any at Rome, another column of Constantine but not carved so well as the other. Where this Column stands, the column commemorates the palace of Constantine, which is now made into stables, and the Aquæducts that brought the water into

his palace are standing still, and are magnificent to behold, being three Arches high, and walks between every one of them, that carry the waters from the top of the hills and so from hill to hill till it comes thither, for the space of eight miles in length.

Whilst we were viewing these things which stood in public places, the Janizary being absent from us went and obtained leave for us to see another of his Seraglios that stood upon the water upon Pera side, in which we saw stately rooms, but the most magnificent were sealed up as in the other. Those rooms we saw were all with chrystal windows, and covered with rich Turkey carpets and some of gold and fans with precious stones: a Spleen Cup, a bottle all of jewels inlaid with great art, in which he carries drink for himself only. He has here a passage towards the sea, beset all with red reeds, by which means he can see (without being seen) whosoever goes that way by sea. There he has also a pond made all of porphyry stone, that is in the middle of a grove all beset with trees, on which he hangeth carpets: that none can see into it, or dare approach near it. Here he putteth in his Concubines stark naked and shooteth at them with certain pelletts that stick upon them without any damage to their bodies. And sometimes he lets the water in such abundance upon them (for he can let what quantity of water he will in) that being above their heights they all bob up and down for life; and when his pleasure is satisfied with the sport, he lets down the water, and calls the Eunuchs who wait upon his women, to fetch them out if alive.

We being weary and the sun near setting, called upon our Janizary and Druggerman to convey us home and, in our passage by water, we discoursed them whether there was no possibility of seeing the grand Seraglio where the Turk keeps his Court. He being absent, they told us, it was locked up and sealed as to all the rooms of state, but if we could get my Lord Ambassador to send his Caimacham,[1] who governs in the Vizier's absence, we might perchance see more than would be shewed us by any other means. When we came to the Lord Ambassador's house to supper, we discoursed of what we had been shewed that day. My Lord was so taken with our report, that the next morning he sent to the Caimacham to know if he would give leave for some English gentlemen who were there, to see the Grand Seignior's Court out

[1] Should read 'send to the Caimacham.'

of curiosity, having had many reports of the magnificence of it: and that he himself would come along with us, if it were no prejudice to him. The Caimacham made answer that he would serve his Lordship in what he lawfully might: but for him, a public person, to come thither in the Grand Signior's absence, by his sufferance, was certain death to him. If he escaped, he thought it would be with much difficulty. Upon this message, the Embassador gave over all thoughts of going, and told us he did not find that the Chaimacham had any desire, or indeed durst show us any of it, which made us cast about how to compleat it. M^r^ Chapel happening to come to the Embassador's that morning, dined there and invited my Lord and all his company next day to dinner, but my Lady went not. Relating the Caimacham's answer M^r^ Chapel said he had a Jew who was his broker that was acquainted with this Caimacham, and sold his goods for him: that he could get out of the Seraglio by stealth, and that he would employ him to find out a way for us to see what was to be seen, without the Caimacham's taking notice of it, or being concerned in it. This he did by what means I know not; so we were brought within two days by this Jew to this great Seraglio. It hath many gates some of which open to the sea, and others towards the city; by one of which, which is a very stately one, we entered. Here we were received by Officers belonging to it, but of what quality we could not tell, and we were carried into the room of the public Divan, which is the place where he gives audience to Embassadors and to those Bassas who are to depart upon any weighty service or employment; as also to such, who after the limited time of their government is expired, do return to Constantinople, to give an account to his Majesty of their carriage in their several places. This Room standeth in a little Court curiously adorned with many delicate fountains and hath within it a Sopha, which is a place raised from the floor about a foot to sit on, spread with very sumptuous carpets of gold and of crimson velvet, embroidered with costly pearls. Upon this the Grand Signior sitteth: and about the Chamber, instead of hangings, the walls are covered with very fine white stones which having divers sorts of leaves and flowers artificially wrought and backed upon them, do make a glorious shew. There is also a little room within it, the whole inside whereof is covered with silver plate hatched with gold and the floor is covered with very rich Persian carpets of silk and

gold. There are belonging to the said rooms very fair gardens, in which are many pleasant walks, inclosed with high cypress trees on each side, and marble fountains in such abundance, that almost every walk had two or three of them. Such delight doth the Great Turk take in Gardens as indeed do all Turks, that they no sooner come into a pleasant garden that is their own or where they think they may be bold, but they put off their uppermost coat, and lay it aside, and upon that their Turban, then turn up their sleeves and unbutton themselves, turning their breast open to the wind if there be any. If not they fan themselves or their slaves do it for them. Then holding their arms abroad, courting the weather and sweet air, calling it their soul their delight: ever and anon shewing some signs of contentment. During this pleasant distraction, if there be any flowers (as there are excellent ones in all the gardens of the Grandees) they stuff their bosoms with them, adorn their turbants, and then shake their head at the sweet savor, sometimes singing a song to some pretty flower and uttering words of as great joy as if the Mistress of their heart was present. And one bit of meat in the Garden, after the use of the ceremony aforesaid, shall in their opinion do them more good, than the best delicates that may be had elsewhere. After we had seen these four rooms, the Jew told us there were divers rooms and lodgings built apart, in which were the Hasinett or private Treasury and the place where the King's wardrobe was: both of them with iron doors but sealed up with the Kings seal, also rooms for schools, Bagnios, Prayers, places to swim in, to run horses, for wrestling, to shoot at butts in, to conclude, all the commodities that may be had in a Prince's palace. But we could not be permitted to see any more. So we went from thence to Besestan, which is like our Exchange. In this are all sorts of commodities sold, and jewels of all sorts and prices, scymitars, javelins, bows, headpieces and gauntlets of very great value. We staid here but a little while and sent the Jew back to try if we might not be permitted to see the storehouses, hospitals, kitchens, schools, baths and gardens, (where are green grass plots in which Roe Deer feed) and the stables where the Horses are kept: He returning brought us word that these were under several other Ministers as Chias, Agas, Spahis and Eunuchs and Janizaries, so that he, not being known to them, despaired of getting leave. Neither would he attempt it lest some suspicion should fall on him,

and so an Avania (Accusation) made, he should be fined more than he was worth, or perhaps put to death without a hearing.

What is wanting of the magnificence of this Court with all the Officers that belong thereto great and small, with the expences of it both for men and women are to be seen in a book printed in the year 1650 by Mr John Greaves,[1] who had the description of the Turkish Emperor's Court from one Mr Robert Withers, Merchant, who lived there a long time, and had opportunity by speaking the language to be shewed more than any Christian at present can obtain and to that Book the Reader is referred. Having been there two months, there came letters to me from my Father and to my Lord Embassador requesting him to persuade me to return home, he having no other son. When my Lord moved it to me I replied I was obliged to bear my comrade company by lot and promise and if he would release me I would willingly obey. He then said he doubted not to get Mr Tufton to release me, which he having obtained, after we had been feasted by the Merchants at their country houses, Mr. Tufton and I agreed to go and see Melita, now called Malta, and so to part, he for Jerusalem, and I, for England. There being an English ship at Constantinople by name *The London*, Capt. Stevens Commander, that was to touch at Malta I would fain have gone in that ship; but Mr Tufton having found a French ship going to Malta and from thence to Aleppo within a few days' journey of Jerusalem, would not suffer me, but got me to go with him in the French ship. Sailing from Constantinople we passed by the two Castles of Sestos and Abydos[2] famous for the loves of Hero and Leander. Abydos stands in Asia founded by the Milesians. Sestos stands in Europe, though not great yet strongly built and once the principal city of Chersonesus, afterwards defaced and made a triangular castle. The Ordnance are placed level with the sea and the castle not to be commanded by reason of the Mountain's defence. We also saw a city of Chersonesus named Callipoli[3] where the gallies were that

[1] Greaves, *Description of the Grand Seignor's Seraglio*, reprinted in 1737. Greaves does not seem to have got the description from Withers direct. He states that the manuscript was given to him at Constantinople, and that upon inquiry he has 'found it since' to be the work of Withers.

[2] 'Sestos and Abydos. The Strait is called Gallipoli and is two miles over. It joins the Archipelago to the Propontis. The Castles are called the Dardanelles.' [E. F.] In Henry Blount's *Voyage into the Levant*, 1634–6, he states that these two castles on the Hellespont are called 'Dardanelli.'

[3] 'Callipoli. In a book at Whiligh (entitled "A Relation of a Journey contain-

fought the battle at Lepanto[1] where the Christians beat the Turks; yet this was the first city the Turks took in Europe, under the conduct of Solyman. Here entering into the Propontic Sea you see the island of Proconesus now called Marmoreum, by reason of excellent white marble that comes from thence. We sailed by an island called Tenedos[2] from whence we had a sight of the ruins of Troy according to Horace,[3]

> Est in conspectu Tenedos notissima famâ
> Insula dives opum Priami dum regna manerent (*sic*)
> Nunc tantum sinus et statio malefida carinis.
>
> *Æn.* 2. 21.

Troy is ascended by a high Promontory, where they say is the sepulchre of Achilles & the famous Mount Ida in which Paris' Judgment was delivered—

> . . . Manet altâ mente repostum
> Judicium Paridis spretæque injuria formæ.
>
> *Æn.* i. 30.

From hence we came to another island in the Hellespont called the Mitylene,[4] according to the former poet.

> Laudabunt alii clarum Rhodum ac Mitylenem.[5]
> Lib. 1. Od. 7. Lin. 1.

ing a Description of the Turkish Empire of Egypt etc. etc." p. 22), the reasons are assigned why this place is called both Callipoli and Gallipoli. These voyages were performed about the year 1610, *i.e.* twenty years before Sir George's Travels, which they illustrate, and prove the accuracy of many of his observations. It is a thin folio.' [E. F.] Written by George Sandys, poet and traveller, best known for his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into English verse. The book was published in 1615.

[1] 'Lepanto, in Livadia,-100 miles W.N.W. of Athens—350 S.W. of Constantinople. Here Cervantes, the author of "Don Quixote," lost his arm, in 1571, when Don John of Austria gained a victory over the Turkish fleet, to which Sir G. C. alludes. The Sea of Marmora or Propontis is 120 miles long, 50 broad, extending from the Archipelago through the Dardanelles and Strait of Constantinople to the Euxine or Black Sea.' [E. F.]

[2] 'Tenedos is ten miles from the Straits of Gallipoli and on the Asiatic side.' [E. F.]

[3] 'Horace' has been underlined, and Virgil written after it, in different ink, but in Mr. Ferrers's hand. In the same way 'the former poet' has been crossed through, and 'Horace' substituted, below. The references are also in different ink, probably added by Ferrers later.

[4] 'Mitylene or Lesbos. Not more than seven miles from the Trojan coast. Here Sappho and Alcæus were born.' [E. F.]

[5] Should be 'Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mitylenen.' It is quoted correctly by Sandys.

Tho I have good reason to remember it I have no cause to praise it, for going ashore by reason of the Captain having goods to unlade there I was taken for a Venetian by a Turk's false accusation (called an Avania) who told the Beglerbi who was the chief Magistrate (the Aga not being in the island) that I was in the castle and had taken the platform of the Castle and had measured the Guns with intent to give the Venetians advice of their situation and what weight of bullet the Guns could carry and how far. Upon this information I was sent for from my ship to attend the council that were gathered together to examine the matter of Fact. When I came before them they were all seated cross legged upon Turky carpets & the Beglerbi upon a sopha raised a foot above the rest. He charged me by an Interpreter that he had information that I had been in the Castle and had drawn out the platform of it with black lead and had measured the guns with intent to give the Venetians advice how and where to attack it when they had an opportunity. To this I answered I was no Venetian, but an Englishman, and that our nation had leave, by capitulations agreed on between his Majesty of Great Britain and the Grand Signior, to trade in his dominions, whereby he had much profit, and that our Embassador was then residing at the Porte, who was answerable for any Articles that were broken by an Englishman. That it was not possible for me to go into the Castle there being three gates to go thro' and at every one of them a Guard of Soldiers who must necessarily have apprehended me before I could have dispatched half what was informed against me. When I had said this before them, my own company being in presence, I was taken away by their Officers, and demanding of them whither they would carry me, an Italian Renegado who was the only man I understood, told me, I had deserved the *Furca*, which is the Gallows, and they had orders to see me fast laid in Prison till such time as the Council had determined what course to take with me. When I came to the prison they opened a pair of Stocks in which were no holes for a Leg to be put into as ours are, but all flat, without any hollowness. I told the Italian that the weight of the piece of wood that was to be laid on my Leg would break it, which he telling them they were at a stand what to do, by which I guessed their orders were to confine me there. Looking about the Prison I saw Greeks and Turks and I think Armenians all chained together about the neck

with iron collars and their chains hanging down before them. Whilst they were resolving what to do, I went and took up an iron collar, and made signs to him that was the chief among them, to have that put about my neck, and offerred to give him a dollar, which is 4^{s} 6^{d} of our money to have that as the other Malefactors had. He refused my money with scorn, and said, as I understood by the Interpreter, my crime was of a higher nature than to be bought off for money. By this time I conceive they had a return from the Council, for new messengers came in and told me my ship and all the Persons in it were stopped and then I was chained with an iron collar about my neck to three others, so that none of us could stir to ease nature but all four must go. When they had thus done they all left me to the Keepers of the Prison, saying they would go & hear what the Council had resolved upon. When I had laid thus four hours, M^{r} Tufton and the Merchants came to me and told me the Council had agreed on three things, to detain me till the Cadi or Aga returned, who had power to hang or draw, or to send up to Constantinople to know whether I was an Englishman, or to give me fifty or sixty blows on the soles of my feet. After I had heard these propositions, I was desirous they would let me go with those officers that went to Constantinople, and offered to pay the freight of the ship, during the time I used her, but the Merchants were all against me, alledging their goods would be spoiled, and they must unlade them, and then put them in again, and they themselves stay there till my return, and how long that might be by reason of contrary winds and weather was very uncertain. To which I replied, that tho' they were not chained as I was, yet they could not go out of the Island without leave, so that they were under restraint as well as I, tho they had a larger compass, and if they kept me till the Cadi came home, their ship and they would be forced to stay with me. Therefore I desired them to pump the Interpreter, to know what the Council most inclined to, and to feel the Italian, whether if the Corporal Punishment was agreed on, it might not be bought off with a sum of money, for their accusation would be quashed at the Porte, if it came to be heard there, by reason of the impossibilities that would be found in it. And I desired M^{r} Tufton to give the Italian Renegado 4 Dollars secretly, that he might have them to himself without any person seeing him receive them; to start that question among the Officers of the Court and have their sense upon it.

He took the money, being alone, and promised Mr Tufton to move it, if he kept secret his receiving a bribe; and wished him to give such an Officer as he should bring to him double what he had given him to get it done. When the Officer came, he told Mr Tufton we ought to have had an Officer or Janizary with us, that might have been responsible for any misdemeanour done by us but we omitting it were brought to answer in our own persons and a Christians word was not to be taken, when a true Believer had impeached him: so that what we said in our own behalf signified nothing to the Council; neither was it in their power to believe us before him. Mr Tufton demanded what was their practice in such cases, telling him the time was precious with the Merchants and for the ship to stay there till the chief Magistrate came home, was very uncertain; and how the winds and the weather might prove if she went to Constantinople was unknown; So that if the Council might be moved for the corporal punishment, if that would satisfy their Law, he thought it the best expedient for both parties: provided it might be taken off for a reasonable sum of money, which perhaps might be procured if agreed on. The officer replied he would not undertake to tell the sense of the Council, but he had precedents, that such sums of money had been taken for misdemeanours. When he heard this, he gave him twelve Dollars to put the Council in mind of these precedents, When he had viewed them and nobody there, he gave him his word to do it, on condition he might have as much more if he procured it to be accepted: for he fairly told him he was to have none of the money the Council imposed on the malefactor. Before this was agreed to by Mr Tufton and the Court officer the night came, and Mr Tufton and the Merchants told me the Council was broke up, so that I must have patience till the next morning. I desired I might have my Turky carpets and vest to lodge on that night in the Prison, which by the mediation of the Officers was granted, and such wine and water as I had in the ship. By this I found I had got more respect from the Keepers of the Prison than when I first entered.

The night being past with little or no sleep, by reason of every one's necessity that waked all his fellows, the Council sat early and by his shewing the books of the like cases, they in a little time resolved on fifty blows with a Bulls Pizzle upon the sole of my feet which was to be executed that morning in the face of all the People for examples sake. They came and told me what was resolved upon

and the execution to be forthwith: but the Money to buy it off was not spoken of, nor durst the Officer move it, that promised to get it done. I told Mr Tufton he had placed his money in ill hands, and I should be crippled all the days of my life if he served me thus. He told me the Officer had not yet had his double fee, which he was confident before the Council arose would make him move it. So it proved, whether out of policy or reality I know not: for a little before their rising, one of the Council said it was a punishment not used in Christendom and that Christians were disabled by it all their lives, and he did conceive a mulct of money would be more useful: and he thought there was money or wares in the ship that might answer the offence committed and that if they would stay till the Destarder, or Registrar, could search the books, they would find money paid, and the punishment relaxed: The Register (as I conceive) pro formâ, brought the books where the like was done. Then the question arose what sum was proportionable to take off the corporal punishment. The first sum moved was 400 Dollars, about 90*l*., but none of the Council spoke by way of mitigation, so that up came Mr Tufton to let me know what was the sum imposed upon me. I told them I had no such sum to pay, and[1] that the ships going to the Porte would not stand me in half the money, and I would insist upon that, if nothing would be abated. I asked Mr Tufton if he had paid the Officer the double bribe. He answered he had had no opportunity of fastening it upon him. Then said I, do me the favour to let that Officer inform the Council, that I have not so much money to pay, and will with their leave go for the Porte, where they shall have the matter of fact tried, and I will stand by their Judgment, be it what it will. But if they will accept of such a sum of money as the freight of the ship in the time going and coming will amount to, I will borrow it, if there be so much in the Ship. Mr Tufton and the Merchants parted from me with my resolution, and finding a convenient time to fasten the double bribe on the Officer, told him what I insisted on, and that so much money was far above the nature of the offence: and so it would be construed if heard at the Porte which I was resolved on. They not being capable of trying it without the Cadi, desired him to move the Court to mitigate the fine imposed, otherwise the whole sum would be lost as to them.

[1] Here the 1st volume ends and the 2nd begins.

He returning informed the Council of my resolutions, which he gave them to understand were not to be altered. Upon this motion they receded from 400 to 300 Dollars and then I had another parly with my comrades, but I stood firm to my resolution, as knowing my innocency: and having cast up in the interval the charge of a journey to and from the Porte, I found it would amount to about 50*l*. This I told them, to set them at liberty and myself out of Prison, I would borrow, if so much was in the ship to lay down, that we all might be cleared, and learn more wit than to go without such Guards as the Country allowed of where we travelled. The sum of 200 Dollars being accepted of by the Council, I had it of two Merchants M^r^ Napper (who married my wife's Uncle Muns Daughter) and of M^r^ Death. When I had paid it, we made all the haste we could for fear of any After-Claps, they having power enough over us if they had made use of it.

Having sailed out of sight of the Island, I asked M^r^ Tufton and the Merchants, if they intended the whole charge should be upon me: to which they replied, the false accusation affected only my person and it was well I escaped drubbing; neither had I a farthing allowed me from any of them.

As we sailed towards Malta, the Captain and seamen shewed us Corinth and Athens and where Alexandria in Egypt stood; but we were not pressing to go ashore, having had such ill fortune at Mitylene. In a few days we arrived at Malta and the Captain going ashore to shew his certificate that he came from a place that was not affected with the Plague, the Great Master of Malta, for so the Governor is called, convened a Council, and the Captain being called in to justify the said certificate, told them he had two Gentlemen of the English nation aboard him, that came from the Porte; having been lodged at the Lord Embassador's there some two months, only out of curiosity to see the magnificence of the Emperor's court: and were come thither to see the famous island that hath perpetual enmity with the Turks. The Grand Master ordered the searchers to go and view the seamen immediately, to see if they were all in health and looked to be sound in body: that the whole ship should have Practic, that is, might come ashore.

Before they had made an end of seeing the Persons who belonged to the ship, the Grand Master sent M^r^ Tufton and I a present of fruit by his own servants, who had orders to carry us to

a house in the town, where we lodged. The next morning he waited on us to shew us the strength of the Island, and what store of provision, of corn and other grain it had in it in case of a siege. Then we saw the arms that were for their Gallies, which is their greatest strength. For it being only a rock in the sea, the streets are all white stone; this, when the Sun is at the highest in the summer, casts such a reflection upon the eyes of the inhabitants, who are Moors, it being in Africa, that they are forced to wear spectacles to save their eyesight. The whole Island is not above eight miles broad, and being all stone, little or no wheat is sown. For this they are and must be beholden to the King of Spain, it all coming from Sicily. What other provisions they want, they have from thence and from Italy: but the fruits that grow in the place as figs, pistachios, oranges and lemons are far beyond what is in Italy; and the Cotton Wool that is there excelleth all that grows in the neighbouring countries.

We were, I suppose by the Grand Master's order, invited by some gentlemen to take a repast in one of the Grand Master's country houses: and in our way we saw all the Albergees that belong to every nation.[1] These are Colleges appointed to receive all that are nobly born, or Gentlemen of any Nation in Europe that will come there, and bring their fortunes with them, and take a vow of Poverty and Chastity, and enmity with the Turks for ever so as to give no Quarter, nor receive any in fighting with them; and after so many voyages in the Gallies that war against the Turks and some other circumstances performed, they are made Knights of Malta, which is known by the white Cross they are allowed to wear in all the Courts in Christendom upon their cloaks or coats, as they are their swords. In our way to this Country House, they brought us into the Cave where S^{t} Paul shook off the viper from his hand without any hurt: and there were people ready to sell us vipers' tongues and teeth very curiously wrought, as they say, of the stones in the Cave; which have the virtue, if you will believe them, of expelling any poison in the body. So hath the Earth of the Cave dried used as aforesaid.

Having seen all the Fortifications of that place, and what was remarkable in the Island, which is certainly the strongest that can

[1] 'There were at that time seven Colleges or Alberges—1 for France, 1 of Auvergne, 1 Provence, 1 Castile, 1 Aragon, 1 Italy, 1 Germany. Before the Reformation there was an eighth for England.' [E. F.]

be seen, being environed by the sea, we went to take our leave of the Grand Master and give him thanks for his great favors to us, and having made our compliments and going away, he said he was informed that one of us went for Naples, if so, his Galleys were to transport the Princess Collon thither, and by them I might have a good passage. I returned my acknowledgments to him for his kindness and accepted of it, which was the occasion that I staid there three days after Mr. Tufton set sail in the French ship for Aleppo.

When I came aboard the galley I was received very courteously by the Captain, being in the same ship where the Princess was, and had my diet at the Captain's Table which was well furnished with flesh (that was fresh on those days that they were to eat it) and on fasting days with fresh fish and sweetmeats, and music all the evening, which sounded beyond expression on the sea. We had Mass morning and evening,[1] but I not going to it, it was not so well thought of, when upon enquiry I owned to the Protestant Religion to the Captain.

When we arrived at Naples I demanded of the Captain what he would have for my diet and passage. He replied he had orders from the Grand Master to treat me with both. I then told him after I had gone ashore and changed my habit I would wait on him, presuming he would make a day or two's stay there. When I came to M^{r} Keridges who was my Merchant I told him how civilly I had been treated in the Gallies of Malta, and asked him what was the fittest present for the Captain. He said there were silk waistecoats in Naples embossed with gold about 3*l.* price, which he thought would be well accepted of. So we both went and bought a green silk one, embossed very richly with gold, which cost 3*l.* 5*s.* English, and being accompanied by M^{r} Keridge, I went aboard the galley. I found the Captain with other Spanish Gentlemen at a collation of fruit: and when I had an opportunity I presented the Captain with the waistecoat, who received it very kindly at my hands, and when we had eaten some fruit and drank two glasses of wine, leaving my services to the Grand Master, we took our leaves and returned to our lodgings.

I had not been in the town three days, but there arrived Sir

[1] This is incredible; it is even doubtful whether they would have Mass at sea at all, unless they had a dispensation. But the Protestants of that day sometimes used the word 'Mass' loosely for any services of the Roman Church.

Peter Wyche,[1] his Majesty's Embassador at the Porte and Ferdinando Marsham with him; and their company occasioned me to make a longer stay there than I intended, for I had met with letters from my Father most passionately desiring my return. I had seen what was worthy of observation when I was there before, and when the Rains of September had fallen, I went away for Rome, for I was informed that an English Gentleman by name Mr Walmsley, going from Naples to Rome in August before, died by the way, travelling in such hot weather as there is in that month.

When I came to Rome, I found but few English Gentlemen there, by reason of the heat that was not yet allayed with the showers that had fallen. Going to Father John a Friar, who had before carried me to wait on Cardinal Francisco Barberini, who was Protector of the English nation, he told me there was one Mr Honeywood, who had a brother a Merchant at Leghorn, that died and left an estate behind him, which this Mr Honeywood came to look after, but had not recovered enough to bear his charges: for there was one Mr Bothus a Merchant and an Englishman who laid claim to the greatest part of it, and at a hearing in the Duke of Florence's court, had recovered it. I went and found out Mr Honeywood, and there being a lodging in his house, I took one there for the time of my abode. After I had furnished myself with clothes fit to walk abroad in, I went to wait on the Cardinal our Protector, who had heard of my misfortune in Turky, so that I was bound to give him an account how I had escaped their hands. When my Compliment was ended, I took leave and went to visit my countrymen at the Jesuits College at Rome, whose Principal went then by the name of Herbert. He desired me to relate the story of my being a prisoner in Turky, which I did so much to his satisfaction, that he caused me to be invited to dinner the next day at the College and to bring Mr Honeywood with me, which I did. We were entertained very nobly by them[2] at a long table, at which sat no one but myself and Mr Honeywood, the elder Jesuits discoursing with us all dinner time, and the younger bringing in the meat and serving us with wine and water. After we had dined,

[1] Wych, having left Constantinople about May 1639, had a tedious journey to Italy, but arrived there during the summer, and was back in England before November. Therefore the 'September' here is certainly September 1639.

[2] John Evelyn also notices the 'singular courtesy' and hospitality of the English Jesuits at Rome. See *Diary* under dates November 8 and 24, December 29, 1644; February 18, 1644–5.

we were carried to Father Herberts Lodgings, where, before we parted, we had a Collation of such rare fruits and wine as we had neither seen nor tasted all the time of our abode there. The night approaching, we took leave and after three weeks stay I left the town and Mr Honeywood there, and went to Venice, Padua and Loretto. Here I saw the riches of Madona Loretto, which they say was a chapel in the air brought miraculously from Jerusalem to this Place. But most certainly there is not any one altar in Italy that is furnished with such costly Copes and rich Jewels, as this hath set on it on festival days. From thence I went to Milan and so to Savona and there I embarked for Marseilles in France.

Arriving there, I met with an Englishman by name Mr Fludde, who had been at Padua to do his exercise for a Doctor of Physic's degree, which he afterwards practiced in the town of Maidstone in Kent. He was going for Paris and so homewards, which was the same journey I was to make, and by that means we came both to the Messenger that went from thence to Lyons: and there with another Messenger we both were carried to Paris, where I staid some time to visit the Earl of Leicester[1] who was there still Embassador. There I met with my Lord Spencer afterwards Earl of Sunderland, who was newly married to Lady Dorothy Sidney[2] the Earl's daughter. He being of my acquaintance at Oxford was joyful to see me alive, for they had news that I was strangled in Turky, which also was brought to my Father, who afterwards, to his great comfort received letters to the contrary. When I had remained there about three weeks, Christmas according to the English account drawing near, I went down to Dieppe to wait for a passage to England, which I there found. So I embarked and came to my Father's house in Leadenhall Street (now the Crown Tavern) the night before Christmas day in the year 1640.[3] I lived in this house with my Father from 1640 till the 12th of October 1642, at which time he paid that debt to Nature which I owe.

After his decease, I went to the King, who was then divided

[1] 'Father to the famous Algernon Sidney' [E. F.]. The Earl returned from his embassy in 1641, on being appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

[2] 'The famous Sacharissa of Mr. Waller.' [E. F.] She was married July 20, 1639. Her husband, Henry, Lord Spencer of Wormleighton, was created Earl of Sunderland in June 1643, but fell mortally wounded at the first battle of Newbury, shortly afterwards, fighting for the King.

[3] As shown by note 2, above, and note 1 on the previous page, the true date of his return was Christmas 1639.

from his Parliament, and was raising men at Shrewsbury in Shropshire.[1] My uncle John Courthop (my Father's younger brother) was then waiting on his Majesty in quality of one of his Gentlemen Pensioners, which is the King's only guard of state, and are bound to go with him and serve him with three horses, in his wars. When I came to Shrewsbury, I found out my uncle and told him my Father was dead, at which report he was astonished, and desired time to allay his sorrow. I told him there was but little to be allowed him, for my Office was in danger, and that my Father's death had taken air enough: and if he delayed to move the King on my behalf, other suitors would come and I should lose it. It being then Sunday and his waiting time, he made the more haste that he might be at court before the King went to chapel. In the court he met with Sir John Culpepper who was then Chancellor of the Exchecquer, and by virtue of that place, is joined with the Lord Treasurer of England to inspect the Alienation Office,[2] and the Commissioners in the Office are bound by their deputations to follow the orders and directions of those two persons for the better improvement of his Majesty's Revenue. He having married Sir Stephen Lennard's sister of Wickham in Kent, was allied by that marriage to Sir John Culpepper, afterwards Lord or Baron of

[1] This statement is rather perplexing. The 1st Sir George died on the 12th, as here stated. This date is given on his memorial tablet in Ticehurst Church, and is confirmed by the fact, as proved by the parish register, that he was buried on the 19th, just a week later. His son reached the King on a Sunday, *i.e.* the 16th, which he could do by fast travelling. But Clarendon states that the King left Shrewsbury on the 12th, and this is shown to be correct by the *Iter Carolinum*, which gives the following 'gests':—Oct. 12th, to Bridgnorth; 15th, to Wolverhampton; 17th, to Birmingham. It must therefore have been at Wolverhampton, not at Shrewsbury, that young Courthope came to the Court.

[2] The Alienation Office, which in 1576 had been leased to the Earl of Leicester, and was held by him until his death, was afterwards put into the hands of Commissioners. They issued licences for alienations of land and pardons for those passed without licence or made by will. Every pardon and licence had to pass under the great Seal in Chancery, and to be entered of record. For every pardon upon an 'ultima voluntas' and every licence, half a year's rent was paid to the Crown, and for other pardons a whole year's rent (the proportions appear, however, to have differed at different times). Moreover most part of the alienations passed upon writs of covenant, and for each such writ there was paid 6*s.* 8*d.* fine for every five marks of land. One object of their passing the Great Seal was that they formed good proof of the tenures of tenants *in capite*, &c., 'which bringeth wardships, marriages of wards,' &c. (see *S. P., Dom., Eliz.*, vol. 110, No. 57). The office was not finally abolished until the reign of William IV.

The office buildings were situated in the Temple, at the north end of King's Bench Walk (see *Calendar of Inner Temple Records*, prefaces to vols. i. ii. iii.)

Foreway.[1] When he had acquainted him with the death of my Father and that there was a Commissioner's place in the Alienation Office vacant, he requested him to move the King that I might have it, by reason my grandfather and father had it before me; and that he would go immediately to know the King's pleasure in it: for fear if it should be delayed, it might be begged before he had spoke for it. This he did and his Majesty was pleased to grant it, but with this clog at the end of the Grant, that I must pay 1300*l.*, to such persons as my Lord Culpeper should name, and that my uncle and I should enter into a bond to pay it in 21 days, after our arrival at London. We accepted the condition and entered into bond to pay so much money to M^{r} Dudley Palmer, a gentleman of Gray's Inn. When we had sealed the bond, I told my Lord I was but a young man, newly come to an estate, knew not in what condition my father had left me, and desired him to move the King to dispense with my uncle's waiting and to let him go with me to London and we should be better able to get the money payable at the appointed time. He having moved it to his Majesty, it was granted, and by that means my uncle came and lived peaceably at home at Brenchley[2] in Kent, during the time of the civil wars between the King and the Parliament.[3]

[1] Sir John Colepeper, created Baron Colepeper of Thoresway, October 21, 1644.

[2] 'Brenchley in Kent.—He died September 17, 1649; was interred in the Chancel there, where on the north side of the Eastern wall is a Monument with the following inscription:—

'M.S.

Joannes [*sic*] Courthop de Brenchley in Comitatu Cañt: Armiger. Amplissimi Viri Georgii Courthop Equitis Aurati de Whiligh in Comitatu Sussex. Frater natu minor, olim inter serenissimi Caroli Primi Satellites Generosos. Carnis mortalitate demum exutâ hic situs requiescat.

Obiit autem Mensis Septembris 17° Anno Reparatæ Salutis ultra Millesimo Sexentessimo [*sic*] quadragesimo nono.' [E. F.]

[3] This statement does not quite tally with the petition which, shortly after the Restoration, George Courthope presented to the King. It runs as follows: 'That John Courthopp of Brinckley in the county of Kent esquire was gentleman pensioner to his late Majestie, and going to performe his dutie to his Majestie during the late warrs, was taken prisoner by the Parliament's forces, and after long imprisonment he was released upon condition hee should not returne unto his Majestie againe: That not long after hee dyed, leaving your petitioner his executor, subject to his debts: That there was due to John Courthopp for his wages at the time of his death 800*l.*, being the most considerable part of his personall estate.' George Courthope prays his Majesty to confer a pensioner's place upon himself, that he may be better able to pay his uncle's debts, and also 'be in a capacity to expresse his cordiall dilligence' in the King's service. The petition is signed in a clear, firm hand 'Geo. Courthop' [*S. P., Dom., Car. II.*, vol. ii., No. 154].

When we came to London, I went to the Lord Treasurer, who was Bishop of London (Bishop Juxon), who then lived at Fulham, and when I shewed him my Warrant from the King to invest me in my father's place, with all such profits and priviledges as thereto belonged, and in as ample a manner as he enjoyed it, he readily gave me a deputation for the place, which I enjoyed till I resigned it to my youngest son M[r] Edward Courthop. Being in full possession of the Place, we provided the money according to the time of the Bond. But in the change of government Oliver Cromwell (being made Protector about the year 1653) called a Parliament of his own garbling, which was called the Rawbone Parliament, and they put down the Office, not knowing that Writs of Covenant, and Writs of Entry were included in the ordinance they had made for taking away fines upon general writs.[1] And so we acted not for the space of a whole year, and then another Parliament was called,[2] and we made application to them to set it up again, by reason the former Parliament never intended to lose so great a revenue, and what they did was done ignorantly. Upon which motive they restored us again and would have had us hold our places by ordinance of Parliament. This we durst not refuse, because there was one Samuel Bond our Receiver,[3] son to Dennis Bond, a great Committee man, and of great power in those times. But we found out ways to defer it, till we had sent one Col. Compton[4] to the King to know his pleasure in it: and by him we sent

[1] 'Rawbone' is, of course, 'Barbone' (probably merely a mis-script). This Parliament was summoned by Cromwell, but as Captain-General, not as Protector. It entirely abolished the Court of Chancery, but, in order to the carrying on of business, resolved that 'original writs, writs of covenant, and writs of entry' were to be issued by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal (see *Commons' Journals*, under date October 15, 1653). It would appear from Courthope's statement that the Alienation Office was put down when the Chancery was, and re-erected with it the next year, although there are no notices of this in the Journals.

[2] 'Another Parliament,' *i.e.* the first Protectorate Parliament, which met September 3, 1654. It restored the Court of Chancery, and evidently the Alienation Office also.

[3] At the Restoration he was displaced, and his office given to Mr. Edward Nicholas. It was then stated that Bond was 'behind with his accounts for that office for seven years past,' and he was ordered to pay up these arrears to his successor. He is sometimes called Samuel Bond, sometimes Thomas (see *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1660–1667).

[4] Sir William Compton, colonel of a regiment for the King; Royalist governor of Banbury; master of the Ordnance after the Restoration. The 'intelligence

the King 100*l.* But at his return he was taken by intelligence from the Kings Court, to Secretary Thurloe (who had that place under the Protector) and was clapped in the Tower where we bore his expences during his Imprisonment. The King gave us leave to act under them if we could not avoid it, rather than be put out of our places: for we had been at Oxford with him,[1] and at a hearing before the Council it was thought more proper for us to be in London, than to let all the assurances by way of settlements in Marriages, Mortgages and sales of Land in the nation, be at a stand. So we returned from Oxford, with instructions to send all the money to the King that we had brought into the Office, which we did, till discovered by a clerk whose name was Maidstone, put into the office by Dennis Bond, one of the Committee for the Kings Revenue, to give intelligence what was transacted there. We had a severe reprimand from the Committee for doing it, but with M[r] John Crewe's help, afterwards Lord Crewe, and one of the Committee, we got off, not without great fear of losing our places, and the Committee stopped our salaries, telling us it was in their power to allow us anything or nothing as they pleased: so that we acted a whole year without receiving one farthing: and when we made application for payment, they answered us, the Public had need of the money, and we must stay till their necessity was over.

After the Long Parliament was dissolved, Cromwell called another Junto which was called the Little Parliament[2] who sat

from the King's Court' was no doubt sent by the traitor Manning. Writing to Thurloe in May 1655, he says that he wonders Compton is not yet taken.

[1] Courthope is here harking back to earlier times. Charles II., as Prince, was partly at Oxford with his father, and was a member of his Council, by whom the order to remove to London was given; but he was a mere boy, only twelve years old when Charles I. went to Oxford, and sixteen when he finally quitted it in 1646.

[2] This is very confused. The *Long Parliament* was expelled April 20, 1653. The *Little* or *Barbones* Parliament met July 4, 1653, and dissolved itself—*i.e.* 'delivered back their power,' &c.—on December 12. No Parliament sat and installed Cromwell as Protector. The Instrument of Government was drawn up by the Council of Officers, and it was by them that the Protectorate was offered to him. The *first Protectorate Parliament* met September 3, 1654, and was dissolved January 22, 1654–5. Both this and the following Parliament included Irish and Scotch members, and consisted largely, though not entirely, of knights of the shire. The small boroughs were disfranchised or gathered into groups, but the important ones sent members. The context clearly shows that it was to the second Protectorate Parliament that Courthope was elected. The *second Protec-*

some short time and then delivered back their power to him from whom they received it. Then this Rawbone Parliament sat and installed him Lord Protector in Westminster Hall, which ceremony being performed, they offered to make him King; which he refused in a long speech, and some time afterwards put an end to their sittings, and then called a Parliament which only consisted of Knights of the Shire, and the Scotch and Irish being sent over by election, from their own countries, were admitted to sit in it, with the English Parliament all together in the house of Commons (for there were no Lords). The King was murthered the thirtieth of January [1] 1648, the House of Lords voted useless and dangerous by the Long Parliament. In this Junto we had nine Knights to serve for the county of Sussex,[2] and the Country did in the open castle at Lewes choose me the fourth man to serve, which when the Army men who were at the election saw, and what a company I had to vote for me, and that none of them could be elected if I kept my party entire (which I did and so made whom I would to be chosen) after the nine were elected, Col: Whalley, Col: Gough,[3] and other Officers of the Army framed a petition against me to the Council of State, in which they charged me with sending money to Oxford to the King, and that I said the Common Prayer in my house when it was prohibited.

When the time was come for the Convention to sit in the House as a Council, I was kept out of the House by means of the aforesaid Officers, who were there and told me, that there was a Petition depending in the Council of State that rendered me incapable of sitting there; upon which advice I did not offer to go in, but went away immediately to the Protector at Whitehall, and told him, my Country having sent me up to serve as one of the Knights of the Shire, I was refused entrance. To this he replied that it was an act of the Councils, and that he did not concern himself in it, but wished me

torate Parliament met September 17, 1656, and it was this Parliament which pressed the kingship upon Cromwell and to which he made the 'long speech.'

[1] '1649, according to our present style of beginning the year on the first of January: at that time the year began on the 25th of March, and the interval was generally marked in this manner, 1648/9.' [E. F.] This paragragh about the murder of the King is a parenthesis, apparently to explain there being no House of Lords.

[2] 'Courthop's name appears as sixth among the nine members returned for the county of Sussex on August 20, 1656.' [E. F.] There were also members for the boroughs of Arundel, Chichester, East Grinstead, and Lewes.

[3] See Goffe's letters, *Thurloe State Papers*, v. 341, 382.

to repair to Sir John Lawrence, who was then President of the Council,[1] and he would direct me what to do in it and when I should be heard. I went to Sir John Lawrence, who told me that there were such foul things put in a petition to the Council of State against me, that he wondered what the country meant by choosing me, who could not, if guilty of what I was charged with, be in a capacity to serve them. To this I replied I was ignorant of what was alledged against me, but desired no more favor than to come to a tryal: and if I was innocent, that I might be acquitted in the face of my Country where I was accused: if guilty, I was willing to suffer such punishment as the offence deserved. He bid me come thither towards night, and I should know what day the Council had sat down for my hearing: which I did, and had notice given me that that day sennight I should be heard. In the meantime I went to the Protector to tell him I was an officer in the Alienation Office and served there as Senior Commissioner and which brought into the Common Wealth such a revenue, as, with the Præfines and Postfines amounted to little less than 16000*l.* per annum, desiring him that he would be present, for my life and fortune was at stake. There being an Ordinance out, that if any person had correspondence with Charles Stewart, son to the late King of ever blessed memory, or any ways assisted him that he should be guilty of high Treason, if they proved that I had sent money to Oxford, as was charged in the petition, I must have been tried for my life, but knowing they were out in the place, though true as to the matter of fact, I was confident it could not be proved, because I went to M^r^ Cooper of Thurgarton[2] in Nottinghamshire who had brought me a privy seal from the King for 100*l.* and demanded of him where he paid the money that I gave him on the Privy Seal: he answered that it was paid to Col: Anthony Gilbey at Bruxells and that I need not fear it would rise up against me.[3]

[1] The President of the Council was Henry Lawrence, not Sir John.

[2] 'Mr. Cooper' was John Cooper, second son of Sir Roger, of Thurgarton, employed as agent by Charles II. He was sent into England in the spring of 1656, and was successful in getting 'horses' (by which was probably meant money) for the King; but he had been over before and been imprisoned, as in 1655 he is said to have 'escaped from the Gatehouse' (see *Cal. Clar. S. P.* iii. 122, 164).

[3] There is no mention of this in the Books of the Council of State, and it i not easy to see what Courthope means. No one would dream of sending money to Oxford for 'Charles Stewart, son of the late King.' The argument might be expected to run:—'If they proved that I sent money to ——, where the King was,

The day coming of my hearing, I did not carry council with me, tho' there was one that I had fee'd hard by, if occasion had been; I attended to know when I should be called in to hear the charge. Mr Jessop, who had been clerk in some of those conventions that I had sat in, was my good friend, and had by proxy sent me word that the sending money to the King at Oxford was the only Article in the Petition, that could prejudice me, and if that was false, all the rest would come to nothing: and He being then one of the Clerks of the Council of State and in waiting, sent me word by a Messenger of the Council, that when my Cause was called on he would send me word so long before that I might prepare the witnesses that were to be heard on my behalf. After I had waited from three o'clock in the Afternoon till seven at night in the Summer time, They sent out to know if those officers of the Army who had prepared the Petition against me were in readiness with their Witnesses to make good their Petition. Word was brought in they were all without and I also attending according to Summons. Mr Jessop then sent me out word that I should be heard that night, but it proved not so, for the Protector coming into Council (which I thought had been only to be present at the Debate) started another business,[1] viz that he had received Letters from the Fleet that General Blague was gone into Santa Cruz with the best part of the navy to batter the Spanish Plate Fleet, and when he came in, found all the rich Spanish Lading was carried ashore, and the wind shifting he could not get out again, but must suffer great damage all the while from the Castle, which fired upon his ships: and further said that it was an act of his own, not warranted by a Council of war, and so, he thought[2] liable to be called to account for it by the Council. He therefore wo'd have them leave whatever business was under debate, and go on to consider the best way to save that part of the Fleet, that was in danger of being in the Island aforesaid, and having no wind to get out, and that their advice when agreed on should be sent away by an express to the Fleet riding without the Island.

I must have been tried; but as it was only paid to Gilby at Brussels, they could do nothing.' Perhaps there was also a charge of sending money from London to Charles I. at Oxford during the Civil War.

[1] This was at the Council meeting of May 26, 1657; 'the next day,' *i.e.* May 27, the news came that Blake had fired the fleet, &c.

[2] 'Query whether it be generally known that the reputation of Admiral Blake depended on so nice a point as it here appears to have done?' [E. F.]

The Council resolved to take the matter presently into consideration, so that our cause was laid aside for that time, and the next day news came to town that General Blague had fired the Spanish Fleet in the Harbour of Santa Cruz[1] but all the bullion was taken out and most of their Lading got to land, but after he had set the ships on fire the wind turned about and he sailed out without much damage.

By this interval, I seeing the Earl of *Leicester that now is*[2] go into the Council, and asking if he was one of them, and being told he was, I made address to him as being my acquaintance beyond the seas. He told me he had heard the Petition read, but knew not that I was the Person concerned, but was sworn to secrecy, so that he durst not let me know the contents of it, but withal declared that if one Article was not well proved, all the others would do me no great harm. To this I replied that I conceived the Article was for sending the King money to Oxford, for those who were my Accusers had vented such discourse at the meeting in Sussex for the election of Knights of the Shire, where I was chosen one to serve: but I was confident neither they nor any Witnesses could make it appear to be a truth. He then said I need not fear, for all the other was more malice that the Country did not choose them than anything relating to my Person, to which I answered that if they could prove it I desired no mercy, but [to] suffer what punishment the crime deserved. He said he was glad to find me so innocent and so confident of my cause and would intimate so much to some of my accusers by a third Person, whereby they might know that what they laid the greatest stress upon could not be made out a truth; which he did so effectually, that the Council breaking up abruptly and leaving me sine die for

[1] 'A town on the east side of the Island of Teneriffe, W.L. 16, N.L. 28. See Hume, vol. 7, p. 257. N.B.—He there says when the treasures arrived at Portsmouth the Protector from ostentation ordered them to be transported by land to London. Query, if the Lading was taken out and all the bullion removed, what treasures remained on the ships to be removed by land?' [E. F.] The transporting of the bullion from Portsmouth had nothing to do with the affair of Santa Cruz. It was after Blake's attack on the ships in Cadiz harbour, September 8, 1656, when he did get the treasure, that the eight-and-thirty waggon-loads came 'triumphantly jingling up,' probably for the purpose of bringing home to the minds of the people the reality of the victory over Spain.

[2] 'At p. [154] it appears that these memoirs were written after 1679. The Earl who was ambassador died in 1677, and this must have been his son Philip, who succeeded him, November 2, 1677.' [E. F.]

a hearing, I had notice from Mr Jessop that my accusers had been dissuaded from any further prosecution, and some of them told him, if the Council had not set down a time for a hearing they were agreed to let it fall.

Upon this news, I wrote down to my Wife, who was Mr Edward Hawes's only daughter, who was a merchant of good repute in London, and grandson to Sir James Hawes sometime Lord Mayor of London. The said Mr Edward Hawes's widow, was my Father's second wife and after his decease I was married to my Mother-in-Law's daughter July 12th 1643; by her I had four sons and two daughters: two of my sons died: the other two were named George and Edward. My eldest son George was married to Capt. Fuller's daughter of Waldron in Sussex. She died childless Decr 16, 1675 having lived with him a little above a year. The other son married one Mr Baynes's widow, a Counsellor of the city of London, on the 28th of Novr 1681. She was sister to Mr Warner of Walsingham in Norfolk who was nephew to the Bishop of Rochester of that name and by changing his name to Warner from Lea he left him his estate. My eldest daughter Elizabeth was married to Sir Thomas Pierce's [1] eldest son of Stone Pit in the county of Kent. She had several children by him who are at present living. My youngest daughter Mary [2] is now living with me unmarried.

But to return from this digression. I wrote word to my wife that I understood my accusers were of opinion they should make nothing of their charge against me, so that I was resolved to try my fortune, by venturing to go into the House of Commons and there sit, to act in the capacity my Country had chosen me: which I did, nobody any way interrupting me, and there I remained till such time as Oliver Cromwell departed this life [3] in White Hall, which was Septr 3, 1658. He lay in great state in Somerset House till Novr 23rd following and then was buried in Westm'r Abby. After whom his son Richard succeeded, but was soon thrust out by Fleetwood and Lambert, who with the rest of the Army called the Long Parliament again. After which several gentlemen in

[1] 'Should be Piers.' [E. F.]

[2] 'See her husband's epitaph, p. [157].' [E. F.]

Mr. Ferrers here confuses two Marys. The epitaph relates to the husband of Sir George's step-sister, not of his daughter. See note on p. 157, below.

[3] No parliament was sitting at the time of the Protector's death. He had dissolved it seven months before, on February 4.

Cheshire, under the conduct of Sir George Boothe, rose for the defence of their priviledges but were defeated by Lambert, who soon after turned out the remnant of the long Parliament and created a Government called the Committee of Safety.[1]

In this space of time General Monk hearing Sir George Booth had a considerable number of men up, and not knowing Lambert had defeated them, marches from Scotland with a declaration of a free Parliament; thinking to join Sir George Booth, and so to come up to London with both their armies.[2] Upon this news of General Monk's coming out of Scotland with an army, Lambert marches towards the North as far as Newcastle to fight against Gen[l] Monk. But his men would not engage, which the Parliament hearing of, they got together in the House of Commons and dissolved the Committee of Safety and invited Gen[l] Monk to march with his army to London, which he did accordingly, and was received with great joy, and soon after procured the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and called another upon April 25, 1660, in which I was chosen for the town of East Grinstead in Sussex: and at the opening of the Convention we chose Sir Harbottle Grinstone[3] Speaker, of which his Majesty being in Flanders had notice, who sent several Letters to the Lords, Commons and Gen[l] Monk: and likewise his gracious declaration to his subjects, in which he granted a free and general Pardon to all excepting only such Persons as shall here after be excepted by a Parliament lawfully called. His Letter to the House of Commons was brought to the door by Sir John Greenville,[4] afterwards Lord Bath, and being read in the House we

[1] 'See Echard, p. 745, where the names of the members are mentioned. They were twenty-three in number.' [E. F.]

[2] Lambert defeated Booth at Nantwich on August 19, 1659. The Parliament was turned out by the Army on October 13, after which the Committee of Safety was appointed, and was the governing power until the restoration of the Parliament on December 26. The statement that Monck did not know of Booth's defeat is absurd. The Council of State sent him an official narrative of it on August 25. There can be little doubt that he intended to join Booth, but before there was time to do anything the rising collapsed, after which he remained quietly in Scotland and wrote dutiful letters to the Parliament. When the breach between the Army and the Parliament occurred in October, Monck declared for the latter; but even then he only demanded the restoration of the Rump. Lambert marched out from London on November 3, and reached Newcastle towards the end of the month. On November 15 Monck declared for a free Parliament, and announced his intention of marching into England, but it was not until January 2 that he actually crossed the Tweed.

[3] *I.e.* Grimstone.

[4] Granville.

were all bareheaded, and taking it into debate we resolved upon 500*l.* to be given for a Gratuity to the Messenger, and to let his Majesty know that in a very short time he should have the answer of the House. This being performed by M^r^ Holles, afterwards Lord Holles, it was resolved that 12 Lords and 24 Commoners and some Citizens of London, should go to the Hague with the Royal Navy, to fetch home our King (whom God preserve) to sit by consent of all upon the throne of his Father.

And upon the 29^th^ of May 1660 His Majesty arrived at Dover and was there met by the Lords and Commons and Gen^l^ Monk who was there created Duke of Albermarle[1] and received the order to be a Knight of the Garter, and from thence all the train'd Bands in the Country where he passed, waited on him till he came to London, where he was received, the streets being hung with the richest furniture the Citizens had, and with all the acclamations of joy that could be expressed. Coming to White Hall he sent for both Houses and tho' much wearied with the ceremony of his reception yet sat so long in the Banquetting House as both Lords and Commons had time to express their joy in seeing him and to kiss his hand every one of them before he went to bed, though it was very late.

The next day at the meeting of the House there arose a debate that now the King was come, and we having been long humbled and tost upon unlawful foundations, it were prudent to return to our ancient Constitution of Government, and to desire his Majesty that this Convention (which was called the healing Parliament) might be dissolved, and a legal Parliament called by the King, Lords and Commons, which might set the nation upon its old foundation, and all things would be valid that were past in it. The King being moved in it readily agreed to it, that the Act of Oblivion might be the sooner dispatched, and good in law when perfected. So that was in a short time dissolved and another presently chose to sit, in which I was chosen to sit for East Grinstead; and during that Parliament, which I think sat 16 or 17 years.[2]

On the 23^rd^ of April 1661. The King having that day made a magnificent passage with great splendour and solemnity from the Tower through the City of London, was crowned at Westminster,

[1] A very common mistake for Albemarle.

[2] Nearly eighteen years. It met on May 8, 1661, and was dissolved on January 24, 1678–9.

and dined in the great Hall there, with the Lords and Commons Bishops, Judges and Lawyers, the Representatives of the whole Nation. I then waited on him at dinner in the quality of a Gentleman Pensioner, he having given me that place by reason my Uncle had it before me, and the next day there was a chapter held at Windsor of the Knights of the Garter where the Duke of Albermarle with the Earl of Sandwiche, with others were installed,[1] and there the King treated with two dinners the whole order of the Garter, who are waited on at those solemnities by the Gentlemen Pensioners, where I waited upon my Lord of Northumberland, who was Lord Lieutenant of my county in Sussex, and he having made me one of the Deputy Lieutenants, I was forced to get William Levett, my countryman, to convey my meat out of the great hall in a large baskett to a certain lodging that the Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners had assigned for that purpose, who was then the Earl of Cleveland, that he and the other Officers of the Band might dine with us, which course if we had not taken, we had lost all our meat and dinner also, but meeting there, we found great plenty of meat, sent in of all sorts by several of the Band. So having dined, we were presently sent for to wait on the King to Chapel to hear the evening service for that occasion. After Church, my Lord Northumberland sent for me, who passed a compliment upon me and told me I must wait upon the Lord Chamberlain the next morning, who was the Earl of Manchester, to go with him to the King in his Bedchamber, for his Majesty had something to say to me. I guessed what his Lordship meant, and gave him my humble thanks for the honor I was likely to receive from the King by his means. The next morning I did accordingly, and was brought by my Lord Chamberlain to the King. When the King saw me, he presently bid me draw my sword, and taking it from me, the Lord Chamberlain bid me kneel down, and the King laid my sword on my

[1] The dates here are not quite accurate. The 'magnificent passage' from the Tower to Whitehall was on April 22, the day before the Coronation, and the installation of the Knights of the Garter had taken place the week before, 'apud Castrum Windesore, decimo quinto die dicti mensis Aprilis,' in order to lend greater glory to the Coronation itself. The 'two dinners' to which the King treated the Order would be on the 15th and 16th, and on this later occasion, no doubt, the Earl of Northumberland desired Courthope to go next morning to the King, as the knighthood was conferred on April 17. As regards his uncle's place as Gentleman Pensioner see petition, p. 138, above, *note* 3.

shoulder, uttering these words, '*Sois Chevalier*'; so I arose, made my obeisance and departed. This was noised about the Court at Windsor on the 24th of April 1661, and that day the Chapter broke up, and all feasting was done: so that we all repaired to London to serve in Parliament, who were Members of it: and within three days I had a Bill brought me of the Knights fees, to be paid to the Officers of the Court, according to their several places, amounting to 72*l*. I being one of the King's menial servants was informed by some of the Band of Pensioners who had been knighted by the late King that they paid no fees, because Servants in the same condition were not to receive of one another, and if I paid it I should do the Band wrong, being one of their society. I answered, it would reflect much on my Lord Northumberland, who was then the only man who held up the nobility of England, to speak to the King to knight a gentleman who was not able or willing to pay his fees, and desired leave to wait on my Lord Northumberland, that I might acquaint him in what condition I was, and that I would willingly pay the money, were it not a prejudice to the place and my whole Band, and that I had precedents to bring of some of the Band who on the same occasion had not paid the Fees. When I had spoke with my Lord, whose father had been Captain of the Band of the Gentlemen Pensioners, he said that he had formerly heard such a report, but was informed that the Officers to whom the Fees did belong, had procured a warrant from my Lord Chamberlain for me to appear before the King, with intent to overthrow that custom in case I proved it to be one. I asked his Lordship if he were willing I should pay it before I appeared before his Majesty, and I would readily do it, rather than incurr his Lordships displeasure. He said my best way would be to wait on my Lord Chamberlain, and to take notice of the Warrant which I had seen, and know if his Lordship would assist the Officers of the Court against me, and to let him know I had precedents then in being of the Band, who paid no Fees on the same occasion, that I was willing to pay, were it not to the prejudice of the Society I was of.

When I had waited on my Lord Chamberlain, he said the Officers were resolved to fling off the custom, if any such there was, and that the King had appointed a day for the hearing. Upon which I said I would acquaint my Lord Northumberland and if I should obtain leave of the Band I would not trouble his Majesty nor him

upon so small an occasion, but if they would not agree I should pay, I would certainly attend the King's pleasure in it. When I had acquainted my fellow Pensioners, they all resolved to interest their friends at Court on my behalf, and to stand it out. In the interim some of them had got Prince Rupert to move the King in it, and to let him know there were precedents now in being in the Band, who had been knighted by his Father and had paid no fees. To this the King replied that my Lord Chamberlain was then in the wrong: and desired the Prince to acquaint him that the hearing should be put off for he would not disoblige fifty Gentlemen for so small a sum: which the Prince did and so I escaped.

At the opening of this Parliament, which was of King, Lords and Commons, I had lived to see a circular motion of the Sovereign Power, thro' two Usurpers, from the late King of ever blessed memory to this his Son. It moved from King Charles the first to the Long Parliament, from thence to the Rumps, from the Rump to Oliver Cromwell and then back again from Richard his son to the Rump again; thence to the long Parliament and from thence to King Charles the Second, where I beseech God it may long remain. I shall not trouble myself nor the Reader with what was acted in this Parliament, only observing that the Act of Oblivion was past in the beginning, and the Act for Settling the Militia in the King only, without either of his houses of Parliament, passed presently afterwards, and when the Act of Oblivion past, there were certain Persons excepted, who had sat in judgment upon the late King, which is needless to name, they being mentioned in every printed book that treats of the History of those times.

In this Parliament there were many Prorogations, and one was in 1665 prorogued to Oxford by reason the Plague raged in London furiously that year. I had at that time leave of the King to go into France with my eldest son[1] provided I returned time enough to sit in Parliament. I seated my son at Caen in Normandy with a Doctor of Physick whose name was Mons^{r} Potelle by my Cousin Mervins recommendation (a Merchant in London) to M^{r} Britton a Merchant at Caen, who was to furnish him with

[1] 'See pages [145 & 156]. His name was George, born 1646, and then nineteen. He married first the daughter of Captain Fuller of Waldron, and 2^{ndly} Albinia daughter of Sir William Elliott of Busbridge in Surry. See his Monument in Ticehurst Church, Sussex. He left only one son, George Courthop, Esqr.' [E. F.]

money, and to advise him to take good courses, and to follow his exercises, that were to make him an accomplished person. There I left him and returned to Paris with my Cousin George Rivers of Chafford who had been with me from England the whole voyage.

When we had seen the Louvre, the Tuilleries, Luxembourg and other remarkable things which he had never seen before, we came to Calais for a passage to our own country. At Calais we met with Lord Hinchinbroke, eldest son to the Earl of Sandwich who was then Vice Admiral, and had sent the *Blackmore* Frigate to his son to Calais to bring him to Dover, for we had then wars with the Dutch. Being lodged at Mons^r^ La Forces house at Calais we heard of this convenience, because the Frigate was then in the Harbour. My Lord was not willing to go to sea having just recovered of a great sickness, but we told him we would wait his leisure, if his Lordship would do us the favour to let us go in the same frigate with him: which he readily agreed to, and at his appointed time we set sail, and came to Dover safe,[1] and there parted with my Lord. We were invited by Sir Henry Palmer to his house at Wingham in Kent, to lodge till such time as I could send for my coach to fetch me: and when that came, after a week's feasting with the Gentry of East Kent, I arrived at Whiligh in August 1665, time enough to perform my promise to His Majesty of sitting in Parliament the Winter following.

We sat most part of the Winter, and made such Laws as were approved of by the three Estates and they being past into Acts of Parliament towards the heat of the summer we were prorogued again. Before we came together again the next winter, there happened a dreadful Fire in the City of London on the 2nd of September 1666, which burnt on both sides the street from the place where the Monument is erected to the middle of Fetter Lane before it stopped, in which were burnt 80 Churches, and houses not to be numbered, for it extended in length very near two miles: so that in the year 1665 the People were by the plague taken from the city; in 1666 The City was by the Fire taken from the People, both judgments calling upon us for a national repentance. Neither was this all the Nation suffered in this year, for we having war with the Dutch, they came up the river with their fleet of ships in a Bravado, and broke an iron chain that was put across the mouth of the River to hinder them, and came above Rochester, and fired one of the

[1] They landed on August 8. See *S. P., Dom.*, under date.

King's best ships in Chatham, and carried away another laying in the river, and returned without any damage to ships or men, which was such a disgrace as this nation, always famous at sea, never had put upon it either before or since the Conquest. This Parliament continued by several Prorogations, till the year 1678, always passing such acts as the necessity of the Kingdom required. Their transactions being in print, I shall take the priviledge of omitting the relation of them here, for brevity's sake, and come to a narrative of a most horrid Plot and Conspiracy of the Popish party against the life of his sacred Majesty the Government and the Protestant Religion; sworn before Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, 1668,[1] by Titus Oates,[2] born near Hastings in Sussex, and brought up to be a Preacher of God's word and afterwards turned Papist, and went and lived at St. Omers with the Jesuits in the College, and from thence was sent into Spain to the Jesuits there, and being of the Confederacy was sent into England to wait on the Jesuits who lived in Wildhouse in Wild Street, and some others who lived disguised about London and elsewhere, with Letters from those of Spain and S^{t} Omers to the Jesuits here, to encourage them to perfect their design of killing the King, which was to be performed by one Coniers, as D^{r} Oates in his 68th Article relates: and this Coniers shewed him the dagger that he brought to do it with: but this man failing, they sent four Irish Ruffians to Windsor to effect it, and there were sent 80*l.* to them from the Society of the Jesuits to supply their expences. I shall not here insert how his Majesty escaped the danger, neither how Sir Edmondbury Godfrey was murthered in Somerset House[3] by their consults held at the White Horse Tavern by S^{t} Clements; nor how many of the Jesuits discovered were executed: all these occurrencies are set down in the narratives that were made by some of their own party, who saved their lives by confessing the Conspiracy, which was examined by the Lords and Commons and found to be a design of the Pope and the Society of Jesuits and

[1] 1668 is a mistake (probably merely a mis-script) for 1678.

[2] 'N.B.—Oates was tried and convicted of perjury May 1685. Sir George Courthop died Nov. 18, 1685.' [E. F.]

[3] The scene of the murder was never identified. Godfrey was at St. Martin's in the Fields at noon (of October 12, 1678), and was reported to have been seen in the Strand, between St. Clement's Church and Somerset House, later in the day. His body was found on the slopes of Primrose Hill.

their confederates in this Plot to make a reduction of Great Britain and Ireland and all His Majesty's Dominions, by the sword, to the Romish Religion and Obedience.

In this examination, the Parliament discovered one Coleman who was Secretary to the Duchess of York, to be a principal Agent, by holding correspondence with the Jesuits at St. Omers, Rome, Spain and France; and by sending speedily to secure his Letters and Papers, they had great light into the Plot, and upon his trial, he was condemned, and was the first executed on this horrid Plot. After this, they went on by way of discovery and took up many Lords who are now in the Tower, and many disguised Jesuits, being discovered were executed. Sir George Wakeman, the King's Physician, was discovered to be among the plotters: but had better luck than those who were tried before, for he escaped and went over beyond sea speedily after he was acquitted by the Jury. Sometime after, Viscount Stafford was tried by the Peers in Westminster Hall, in which were seats made for them in their several capacities as Judges: the Lord Chancellor Finch was Judge, and having had a fair trial by the Lords, he was by much the major part judged guilty, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered: but being a Peer of the Realm, the Lords interceded for his being beheaded, which was done on Tower Hill Dec^{r}. 29, 1680.

In the aforesaid Parliament S^{r} Thomas Osborne Lord Treasurer of England was impeached of High Treason (now Lord Danby). He was upon impeachment sent to the Tower by the House of Lords, but there remained, and was not bro't to his tryal, for the Commons who impeached him were not brought to their Proof of the Articles against him. They found out he had been tampering with the Court of France, to keep off all Parliaments in England, which was discovered by M^{r} Ralph Montague then Ambassador there. They also found much of the King's revenue was wasted, by Pensions for secret services, which they were afterwards informed was to secure voices in Parliament, so that with the Members who were the King's Servants, and those who were corrupted with Pensions, the major part of the House were for the King upon all occasions. I shall not insert their names, they being printed to their everlasting shame: I shall only mention that being the King's Servant I was attempted to be in the number, but the *Magistratus Domesticus* that is in me, wo'd not let me be caught in the snare.

In the Winter 1678 I had the *Tres nuntii mortis, Casus, Infirmitas, Senectus; Casus nuntiat mortem latentem, Infirmitas apparentem, Senectus præsentem.* In the winter I was forced to stay at home, and could not attend my service in Parliament: for which neglect I had a Sergeant at Arms, sent by warrant from his house to my habitation to give the house an acount of my condition. When He came he found me on the bed labouring under a distemper of bloody urine, which I conceive I got in straining my back to bend a long bow: though some Doctors were of opinion I had a stone in my kidneys which I had dislocated; but he found me in a condition unfitting for travel, which I could not undertake without danger of my life, and promised to make such a Report to the House: for which I gave him a gratuity for himself, and paid his Fees as Sergeant at Arms (his name was Topham) which came to 20*l.* as by his receipt bearing date Dec^{r} 27th 1678 may appear.

Presently after this money was paid The Parliament which had sat so long, dissolved, of which I was much glad, knowing that Retiredness is more safe than Business. *Periclitatur anima in negotiis* and he that doth *vivere sibi* must *vacare Deo*[1] and considering I had passed so many Offices with so long practice in public employments, I now thought it time to seize on Death, before it seized on me: having learned that the right way to die well was to live well, and the way to live well in the world was to die betimes to the world. Upon these meditations I was resolved to spend the remainder of my days, and not to enter any more upon public employments; being then in my Climacterick year of sixty-three,[2] and ever since have studied *artem bene moriendi*, which I found to be better learned by Practice than Precept, Therefore I beseech God, that by his assisting Grace I may be brought to such a degree of repentance, that when by the direction of his holy spirit I shall finish my course in this transitory Life, I may cheerfully leave this world and resign my soul into his fatherly hands, in assured confidence that through the Propitiation, Mediation and Intercession of my alone surety and only Saviour Christ Jesus, it shall be received into his heavenly kingdom, clothed with the Robes of his Righteousness, there to rest for ever and to be filled with the eternal comprehension of his Love and Glory.

[1] 'See his Epitaph, page [155]. From the phrase *vacare Deo*, which is repeated in the Epitaph, it is most probable that he wrote the Epitaph himself.' [E. F.]

[2] 'A.D. 1679.' [E. F.]

APPENDIX,[1]

N.B.—From the Inscription on the Monument in (Whiligh or) Ticehurst Church it appears that Sir George lived there quietly till 1685. The inscription is as follows:

'Hic juxta situs est Georgius Courthop Eques Auratus qui Carolo II fidelem quoad vixit operam navavit: In Aulâ quidem ex Satellitibus Generosis Unus: in Urbe Commissarius Prædiis alienandis Primarius: Ruri cum Deputatus Locum tenens, tum Irenarcha: in supremâ vero curiâ Senator ex Populi Delegatis Amplissimis et Consultissimis iterum lectus, ut antedicto Regi restituendo, sic deinceps ad extremum Vitæ spiritum stabiliendo. Reliquis idem Pietatis et Christianæ Justitiæ muneribus defunctus: inter ipsa negotia Deo vacavit et exuvias carnis suæ prope cineres Parentum hic juxta reponi vivens curavit.

'Obiit 18mo Novembris
1685.'[2]

2

His lady survived him five years. She is buried at Ticehurst, and on a flat stone over her remains is the following inscription:

'Here lyeth the body of Dame Elizabeth Wife of Sir George Courthop of this Parish who departed this life Dec^{r} 18, 1690. Aged 67.'

3

His Father and Mother were also buried at Ticehurst, and on a mural monument is the following inscription:

'Hic juxta situs est Georgius Courthop Eques una cum Uxore Aliciâ filiâ Georgii Rivers Equitis Chaffordiæ in Agro Cantiano oriundi.

Obiit Octob: 12, 1642.

'Hoc Monumentum debito erga Parentes studio, Georgius Courthop Eques, filius unicus posuit.

Resurgemus.'

[1] By Mr. Ferrers.

[2] 'Aged 69.' [E. F.]

4

His eldest Son,[1] who survived him 29 years, was buried at Ticehurst. The following Inscription is on the Pillar in the South-west corner of the family pew.

'Near this Place are deposited the Remains of George Courthop Esq^re^ late of Whiligh in this Parish Eldest son of Sir George Courthop K^nt^ who died Sept^r^ 13 AD. 1714. Aged 68.

'Albinia eldest Daughter of
Sir William Elliott K^nt^
late of Busbridge in the
county of Surry
His very disconsolate Relict
Erected this Monument
in true affection to his Memory.'

'He left
only one Son the present George Courthop Esq^re^,[2]
And the said Albinia who died June 11, 1717.
Was interred
At her request
In the same grave
With her
Dear Husband.'

5

The second Daughter of the above-mentioned George Courthop Esq^re^ is interred in the chancel belonging to the Family and North of their pew with this Inscription on a flat stone.

'Here rests the Body of
Frances Courthop
Second Daughter of
George Courthop Esq^rr^
Of Whiligh in this Parish
Who departed this Life
July 10, 1723
Aged 14 years.'

[1] 'See page [145], where it appears that this son was married *first* to the daughter of Captain Fuller of Waldron in Sussex in 1674 and that she died 1675.' [E. F.]

[2] 'Grandfather to the present possessor of Whiligh, 1801.' [E. F.]

N.B.—In Thorpe's 'Registrum Roffense' fol. P. 776, is the following Epitaph etc. in Meopham Church. [Meopham in the Deanery of Shoreham and a Peculiar to the Archbishop of Canterbury; but in Rochester Diocese.]

In the chancel on a black marble gravestone is the following inscription:

'Here lyeth the Body of Henry Haslen of Meopham Esq^re^ who married Mary Courthope the daughter of Sir George Courthope of Whiligh in the county of Sussex Knight and of Dame Elizabeth his Wife, who had issue by her two Sons and one daughter.

'Obiit 26° Septembris anno Dom[1] 1658 [1] ætatis suæ 36.'

[1] '1658. The date cannot be correct: at p. [145] it appears that Sir George married in 1643; and that Mary was his youngest daughter; but according to this statement, she would have been a widow at fourteen years of age, even if she, as the *eldest* child of Sir George Courthop, had been born in 1644. Query if the figures should not be reversed, *i.e.* 1685 instead of 1658.' [E. F.]

Ferrers has (as stated above, p. 145, note) confused the two Mary Courthopes. Mary, wife of Henry Haslen, was the daughter of the *first* Sir George Courthope by his 2nd wife Elizabeth, widow of Edward Hawes. The second Sir George Courthope married Elizabeth Hawes, daughter of his stepmother by her first husband, and had by her a daughter Mary, who was unmarried at the date when these memoirs were written.

THE

COMMONWEALTH CHARTER

OF THE

CITY OF SALISBURY

THE

COMMONWEALTH CHARTER

OF THE

CITY OF SALISBURY

[12] SEPTEMBER 1656

EDITED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FROM THE CONTEMPORARY COPY OF THE ORIGINAL CHARTER
IN THE POSSESSION OF THE MAYOR AND CORPORATION
AND THE ENROLMENT IN THE
COURT OF EXCHEQUER

BY

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1907

THE SALISBURY COMMONWEALTH CHARTER

12 *September*, 1656.[1]

A PROPOSAL made by the late Dr. S. R. Gardiner for the publication of this charter was perhaps the last manifestation of his long and active interest in the publications of the old Camden Society, an interest which did not slacken after the amalgamation of the latter body with the Royal Historical Society.

It was Dr. Gardiner's original intention to have printed this charter in the 'English Historical Review,' but the length of the text presented serious difficulties. The Council of the Royal Historical Society, however, was readily induced to undertake, in October 1900, the expense of transcription and publication, with a view to the inclusion of this charter, edited by Dr. Gardiner, in a volume of the 'Camden Miscellany.' It was also in contemplation to make some researches in connexion with the contemporary charter in the possession of the corporation of Swansea for the purpose of elucidating the general conditions of the municipal charters of the period; but these have been fully described by Dr. Gardiner himself in his 'History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate.'[2]

Dr. Gardiner has given his reasons for believing that the revision of certain municipal charters, with one or two exceptions, was prompted by local rather than political considerations. One such motive in the present instance would obviously be found in the anxiety of the corporation to obtain a formal confirmation of their recent acquisition of the Dean and Chapter's lands. A less convincing reason for the revision of the charter is given as the necessity for reducing the number of the governing body, owing

[1] The date in the Salisbury copy is given as 20 September.
[2] Vol. iii. p. 260 *seq.*

to the difficulty of obtaining duly qualified burgesses, as the result of a depressed trade.[1] It would appear, however, from an important order of the Wiltshire Justices in Quarter Sessions, made a few months previously, that this was a season of remarkable prosperity.[2] Moreover in their own petition for a new charter the corporation had demanded an additional market to be held every fortnight, besides two additional great markets, or fairs, yearly. Whether we are justified in assuming that the reduction in the numbers of the governing body under this new charter was effected at the expense of a certain political section is a question which need not be discussed here.[3] It is, however, noticeable that one of the first acts of the 'Rump,' after the removal of Richard Cromwell, was to order the corporation of Salisbury to revert to their previous charter (granted by Charles I.), and to deliver up the charter of 1656 to be cancelled.[4]

Unfortunately the muniments of the corporation have not yet been calendared by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which has dealt (in a memorable report prepared by Dr. R. L. Poole) with those of the Dean and Chapter. For the purpose of verifying the extracts given from the corporation muniments in Hoare's valuable 'History of South Wiltshire,' Mr. A. R. Malden, to whom the Society is indebted for a careful collation of the transcript made for Dr. Gardiner with the copy preserved amongst the corporation muniments, has ascertained, from an inspection of the 'Leger Book,' that no meeting of the City Council is recorded

[1] It would seem that two petitions were presented by the Corporation for the revision of their Charter. The first of these was referred, on 29 November, 1655, to a Committee of the Council (*Calendar S. P., Dom.*, 1655–6, p. 41). The second petition was apparently drafted in December 1655 (Hoare, *Hist. of Wilts (Salisbury)*, p. 436 *sq.*), and was presented, after further consideration, in January 1656. It was referred on 21 February, 1656, to a committee (*Cal. S. P., Dom.*, 1655–6, p. 195), and was again referred on 29 February (*ibid.* p. 204) to a committee which may be identified with the Committee on Municipal Charters, whose operations have not hitherto been traced to an earlier date than April 1656 (*ibid.* p. 253, and Gardiner, *History*, iii. 289). This committee reported on the petitions referred to on the 22 May, 1656 (*Cal. S. P., Dom.*, p. 330).

[2] *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Various Collections*, vol. i. p. 170.

[3] Cf. S. R. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 292; Hoare, *op. cit.*; *Wilts Archæological Magazine*, vol. xxv. p. 152 and vol. xxviii. p. 51.

[4] *Commons Journals*, 2 August, 1659. Whether the cancelled charter is still preserved amongst the papers of the House of Commons has not been ascertained, but it is not preserved with similar instruments amongst the records of the Exchequer.

between 14 March and 15 September, 1656. On the latter date he finds the entry, 'The Charter graunted by his Highness the Lord Protector to the Maior and Coīāltie of this Citie was openly readd in the Councell howse.' Thereupon the Council proceeded to the election of a mayor. Mr. Malden has also noted that a contemporary copy of the portion of the charter which relates to St. Nicholas Hospital is preserved amongst the muniments of that house, and that an initial protocol is prefixed to this extract to give it the semblance of a separate charter.[1]

It will be gathered from the above remarks that the original charter under Seal is no longer preserved amongst the corporation muniments. No inrolment appears to exist amongst the Chancery Patent Rolls, nor can any subsidiary instrument or draft be traced at the Record Office amongst the Chancery Records.[2] We learn, however, from the charter itself that an enrolment was required to be made in the Exchequer, and it is, in fact, there enrolled.[3]

This Record may, indeed, be regarded as supplying a preferable text to the uncouth and somewhat illiterate copy preserved in the place of the original charter. As, however, the transcript of the latter had already been printed before the discovery of the Exchequer enrolment, and as the publication of an enrolment was not in contemplation by Dr. Gardiner himself, a collation of the latter with the Salisbury copy has been made to the extent only of indicating verbal but not literal variants. These are indicated by the letter T, and the heading of the Exchequer enrolment has also been given in a foot-note.

That this collation was not superfluous will perhaps be conceded from a comparison of the two passages printed in italics on

[1] Cf. *S. P., Dom.*, Interregn., p. 330, and *Wilts Arch. Mag.* xxv. 152. The official account of the negotiations for a revision of the charter is given in Hoare, *l. c.*

[2] Lists of the Commonwealth Charters and Privy Seals will be found in the Deputy Keeper's Reports, iv. ii. 189, and v. ii. 246; but these were purely fiscal instruments. The MS. Chancery Index of Patents ends in the year 1655, and there is no bundle of Privy Seals, King's Bills, or Warrants for the date. This charter is not mentioned in the account of the fees of the Hanaper ending December 1656, though the charters to London and Swansea are noted therein.

[3] L. T. R. Memoranda Roll, No. 679, rot. 71. There is a gap in this series between the roll for Michaelmas Term 1656 (No. 680) and that for 21 Charles II. Fortunately, however, the record of Hilary Term 1656–7 appears to have been misplaced, forming part of the roll for Easter and Trinity Terms 1656.

pp. 174 and 178, with the readings given from the Exchequer Record.

It is true that, apart from these two instances of the deliberate falsification of this presumably official copy of the charter, the variants supplied by the Exchequer text are neither very numerous nor important. Such mis-scripts as the omission of the Protector's protectorship of Scotland in the superscription of the Salisbury copy, and the date given as the 20th [1] instead of the 12th of September in the datal clause, may fairly be attributed to carelessness. We may even place a charitable construction upon the ingenious emendation of the direction that the mayor and clerk of the Statutes shall have 'one Seal each, as they from time to time shall think fit to make use of,' the true reading being given by the Exchequer enrolment as 'one seal, such as,' &c.

Finally, it may be remarked that, apart from its political importance as incidentally furnishing the missing clue to the origin of the important Commonwealth committee on municipal charters,[2] this charter has some diplomatic interest as a specimen of an official English style and as an indication of the disordered state of this department of the Chancery during the last years of the Commonwealth.

The duty of preparing this text of the Salisbury Charter for the press was one that devolved upon the editor, in default of a scholar specially versed in this period, within a few days of the appointed date of publication. The researches that have been made for the purpose of elucidating the history of the MSS. can, therefore, scarcely be regarded as exhaustive.

H. H.

[1] We have no positive confirmation of the date given in the Exchequer version. The Hanaper account, however, has no entries for fees paid in September later than the 15th of that month.

[2] Cf. *supra*, p. 164, n. 1, and Gardiner, *op. cit.* iii. 289.

CHARTER OF THE CITY OF SALISBURY

12 SEPTEMBER 1656 [1]

OLIUER Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England [2] & Ierland & the dominions ther vnto belonging, To all to whome theise pr'sents shall come greeting,

Whereas our Cittie of New Sarum in o^r^ County of Wilts is a very ancient Cittie & populus & the Cittizens of the sd Cittie haue ben antiently A body Politique & Corperate & for [3] the tyme whereof the memory of man is not to the Contrary the Cittizens of o^r^ sd Cittie haue held vsed & enioyed aswell within the same as ells wheare In England diverse & sundry Rights Royaltyes Liberties Priviliges francheses free Costomes Jurisdictions Preheminences advantages Emoluments & Immunityes aswell by prescription as by sundry Charters Letters Pattents grants & Conformations of Divers Kings & Quenes of England And

[1] Transcribed from the contemporary copy of the original charter in the possession of the mayor and corporation, and collated (to indicate verbal variants only) with the official enrolment on the Memoranda Roll of the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer (Hil. T. 1657, rot. 71). The record of this enrolment is as follows :—

'Wilts. Citty of New Sarum Bee it Remembred that the Maior and Cominalty of the Cittie of New Sarum in the County of Wilts the three and twentieth day of January this Terme came before the Barons of this Exchequer and by theire Attorney Christopher Barnard brought heere in Court a certen Charter under the great Seale of England bearing date the twelfe day of September in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred fiftie and six conteyning a confirmacion of certen Liberties and of alteracions of former Charters with further Jurisdiccions and Priviledges to them the said Maior and Cominalty graunted by his Highnes Oliver Lord Protector of the Common wealth of England Scotland and Ireland with the dominions thereto belonging and prayed that the same might be inrolled of Record in this Court as by the said Charter is required And it was commanded by the Barons that the same should be inrolled accordingly The tenor whereof followeth in these words that is to say.'

[2] [*England, Scotland* T.] [3] [*from* T.]

whereas Diverse Mannors Lands Teniments and hereditaments Juresdictions Libertyes Immunityes & priviledges haue heretofore bin giuen & granted or mencioned to be giuen & granted to the Cittizens & Inhabitantes of o^r^ sayd Cittie somtymes by the name of the Cittyzens of the Cittie of New Sarum Sometymes by the name of[1] Maior & Cittizens of New Sarum Sometymes by the name of[1] Maior Bayliffes & Cominaltie of the Cittie of New Sarum Somtymes by the name of[1] Maior & Cominaltie of New Sarum Somtymes by the name of[1] Maior Aldermen & Cominaltie of the Cittie of New Sarum And by divers other names as by ther severall Letters Pattents Charters Grants Writings & Miniments amongst other things may more fully appeare. And whereas since the takeing a way of Archbisshops Bishops Deanes Deanes & Chapters by Authority of Parlim't the Maior & Cominaltie of o^r^ sd Cittie of New Sarum by the Name of the Maior & Cominaltie of o^r^ sd Cittie haue at ther great costs & Charges purchassed to them & ther successors (amongst other things) a teniment within the sd Cittie Commonly called the Guild Hall, together with the prisson & prisson house there, being p't^e^ of the sd Guild Hall with ther appurtinances Late parsell of the possessions of & belonging & appertayneing to the late Bishops of Sarum, And alsoe all waysts lying & being w^t^hin the sd Cittie & all fayers & Markets vsually holden & kept w^t^hin the sd Cittie And the benifets & p'fets commodityes & advantages therof, And all & all manner of Courts Courts Leets Veuies of ffranke pledge & what-soeu^r^ ther vnto belongeth Courts Baron & Courts Pleas & all other Courts vsually holden & keept w^t^hin the sd Cittie, And all fines, Issues & Amercm'ts aswell at the sd Courts & everie of them, As at the Assises & Sessions of the peace holden & to be holden for the sd Countie of Wilts & payable &[2] happening from tyme to tyme to be payable by any the Inhabitants of the sd Cittie And the power & privilidge to hold & keep the afores'd Courts & every of them from tyme to tyme And to award & Issue the accustomed Writs & p'cesse to be Issued and awarded out of the sd Courts which should from henceforth[3] beare Teste in the name of the Maior of the sd Cittie for the tyme being And the sd Courts to be kept by the sd Maior or Recorder or by the Stewards[4] or Bayliffe of the sd Maior & Cominaltie & ther Successors for the

[1] [*of the* T.] [2] [*or* T.] [3] [*thenceforth* T.] [4] [*Steward* T.]

tyme being And such other Officers of the said Maior & Cominaltie & ther Successors for ever to be from tyme to tyme attendant vpon the sd Courts to serue & execute the writs & p'cesses [1] & other matters & things in the sd Courts as weare vsually attendant vpon the sd Courts in the tyme of the [2] late Bishops of Sarum, And power to distrayne for all Rents & soms of Mony payable by Reason of the premises & all other remidyes & Means for the haueing Receueing Levying & enioyeing the sd premises & every p'te thereof, And alsoe all Waifes Strayes deodans & goods of felons happening & being within the sd Cittie, And all sum & soms of Monyes to be pd as [3] post fine or post fines upon any fine or fynes from tyme to tyme to be levyed of any Lands or Tenements w'hin the sd Cittie, And all Lands tenim'ts Milles Meadowes Rents Courts fayres Markets Royaltyes Services Amunities [4] Libertyes franchezes, priviliges Immunityes & other possessions & heriditamts whatsoever of what nature quallitie & Condition soever [5] scituate lying & being happeining arisseing or cominge w'hin the sd Cittie of New Sarum & the Libertyes ther of which at any tyme within ten yeares before the begininge of the Parliment beganne the third day of Novembr in the yeare of o[r] Lord God one thousand six hundred & fortie weare belonging to the late Bishope of Salsbury or his predecessors late Bishope [6] of Salsbury or his Assignes as pr'sell of the possessions of the late Bishoppes [7] of Salisburye as by ther deed of purchasse therof beareing date the fifteenth day of Novemb[r] in the yeare of o[r] Lord one thousand six hundred fortye & [8] seaven And in the three & Twentyeth yeare of the Raygne of the late King Charles & Inrolled of Record in o[r] Chancery of Westmister in our Countie of Midlesex may more fully appeare, All & every which sd premises in the sd Deed of purchasse specified weare (amongst other things) by the sd late King Charles by & with the advise & Consent of the Parliment of England then sitteing at Westmister aforesd Confermed to the sd Maior & Cominaltie of o[r] sd Cittie of New Sarum & there Successors by the Letters Pattents of the sd late Kinge Charles vnder the great Seale of England beareing date at Westmister the Nyneteneth day of January in the fower & twentieth yeare of his Raygne, As by the sd Letters Pattents remayneing also of Record

[1] [*p*cess T.] [2] [*the said late* T.] [3] [*as a* T.] [4] [*Annuities* T.]
[5] [*whatsoever* T.] [6] [*Bishopps* T.] [7] [*Bishopprick* T.]
[8] [T omits *and.*]

in o^{r} sd Court of Chancery (relation being therevnto had) may more fully appeare, And Whereas the Now Maior & Cominaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum haue humbly besought vs to be graciously pleased to grant ratifie And Conferme vnto them & ther successors all & singuler the aforesd premises & all & every the libertyes Priviledges franchasses Rights Royaltyes free costomes Jurisdictions preheminences advantages emoluments & immunityes Lands teniments & heriditamts aforesd & all & every other the liberties priviledges franchezes Rights Royalties fre Customes Jurisdictions preheminences advantages emoluments & Immunities whatsoever heretofore granted or mencioned to be granted to the sd Maior & Cominaltie or to the Cittizens of the sd Cittie by ther several names of Incorporacion of any of them or otherwise howsoever, or to the Late Bishope or Bishopps of Sarum within the sd Cittie or within the Circute of grownd in or adioyneing to the sd Cittie called the Closse of New Sarum & which have heretofore ben lawfully enjoyed by them or [1] any of them respectiuely by prescription or grant or any other Tittle whatsoeu^{r} with such alteracions additions & explanations as we should thinke fite, And further that the sd Close of New Sarum might be vnitted & annexed to the sd Cittie & be subiect to the same goverment of [2] the same Cittie, And that the sd Maior & Cominaltie & ther Successors may hold exercisse & enioye such & the same liberties priviledges franchezes Rights Royaltyes free Customes Jurisdictions & Immunities within the seyd Closse as they haue or ought to haue w^{t}hin the sayd Cittie KNOWE YEE therfore that we at the humble pettition of the Now Maior & Cominaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & for diverse other good causes & Considercions vs herevnto moueing of our Especiall grace Certayne knowledge & Mere Motion. Haue giuen granted rattified & Confermed & by these presents for vs and o^{r} successors doe giue grante ratifie Conferme & approue to the s^{d} Maior & Cominaltye of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors the aforesd Teniment in the sd Cittie of New Sarum called the Guild Hall Together with the aforesd prisson & prisson house ther now or late being parte or estemed parte thereof & ther & every of ther rights members & appurtinances And alsoe all the aforesd wastes lying & being in the sd Cittie, And the aforesd faires & Markets vsually holden

The Confermation of the old Charters & late purchassed Libertyes

[1] [*or either or any* T.]

[2] [*as* T.]

& kepte within the sd Cittie, And the benifit profite Commodity & advantayge of the sd faires & Markets, And all and every the aforesd Courts Leete Veuues of franke pledge & whatsoever thervnto belongeth Courts Barron & Courts of pleas & all other Courts vsually holden and to be holden within the sd Cittie And all fines Issues & Amercements aswell at the sd Courts & every of them as at the Assizes & Seassions of the peace holden & to be holden for the sd County of Wilts & payable or happening from tyme to tyme to be payable by any the Inhabitant or Inhabitants of or within the said Cittie, And alsoe all & every the powers & Authorityes herein before mencioned for the holding & keepeing of the aforesd Courts & every of them from tyme to tyme & to Award & Issue the accustomed writts to be Issued & awarded out of the sd Courts & the same to beare Teste in the name of the Maior of the sd Cittie for the tyme being & the sd Courts to be keept by the sd Maior or by the Recorder of the sd Cittie for the tyme being or by the Steward or Bayliffe of the sd Maior and Cominaltie & ther Successors for the tyme being, And that such other officers of the sd Maior & Comminaltie & ther Successors for ever shalbe from tyme to tyme attendant vpon every of the sd Courts to serve & execute the Writs & p'cesses[1] & other Matters & things in the sd Courts as weare vssually attendant thervpon in the tyme of the sayd late Bishoppe[2] of Sarum as aforesd, And alsoe the aforesd power to destrayne for all Rents & other sums of Mony payable by reason of the sd premisses & all other lawfull remidyes & meanes for the haveing Receaueing Levying & Enioyeing the sd premises & every p'te therof, And alsoe all Waifes Estraies Deodans & goods of fellons happening & being within the sd Cittie, And alsoe all & every sum & sums of mony to be p'd as a post fine or post fines vpon any fine or fines from tyme to tyme to be levyed of any Lands or Teniments or heriditam'ts within the sd Cittie, And alsoe all & every such other Mannors Lands tenim'ts Milles Meadowes feedings Rents Courts Faires Markets Royalties Services Amunities[3] Liberties Franchezes priviledges Immunities & other possessions & heriditaments whatsoeuer as the Maior and Cominaltie aforesd or any ther predicessors haue at any tyme or tymes heretofore by whatsoever name or names or by whatsoeu[r] Incorporation or pretext of any name or names of Incorporacion had held vssed or

fines at the Assizes & Seassions granted

Courts to be keept by the Maior or Recorder Steward or Bayliffe

[1] [*Pcess* T.] [2] [*Bishopps* T.] [3] [*Annuities* T.]

enioyed or ought to haue had held vsed or enioyed or now doe hold vse & enioye to them & ther Successors of Estate of Inheritance by reason & pretext of any grant or grants Charter or Charters or Letters Pattents by any the late Kings or Quenes of England heretofore granted or Confermed either to them the sd Maior & Comminaltie & ther Successors or to any of the late Bishoppe or Bishops of Sarum or by any other Lawfull Right tittle Custome vsuayge or prescription whatsoever although the same or any of them haue bin forfeited or lost & although the same or any of them haue bin ill vssued [1] or not vsed or abused or discontinued & although the same or any of them are not in these presents particulerly expressed & in Certayne named & specified TO HAUE HOLD & enioye all & singuler the premises to the sd Maior & Comminaltie of the Sayd Cittie of New Sarum & to ther successors for ever Rendring & payeing therefor yearely To vs & o^{r} successors Such & the like Rents Services Sumes of Mony & demands as haue bin heretofore rendred & pd or ought to haue bin rendred or pd vnto vs for the same. Wherefore we will & by these presents for vs & o^{r} successors doe fermely enioyne & Command, That the aforesd Maior & Cominaltie of the Cittie aforesd & ther successors shall & may frely and quietly haue hold vse & enioye for ever all & every the aforesd Liberties Authorities Jurisdictions Franchezes Rights Royalties priviledges Exemptions & quietances lands teniments & heriditaments aforesd according to the tenor & effect of the aforesd letters Pattents Prescriptions & Customes & of these o^{r} Letters Pattents of grant & Confermation without the let or [2] hindrance or Impedim't of us or our Successors or of any o^{r} Justices Shreffes Excheators Baylifes or other officers or Minnisters of vs or o^{r} Successors whatsoever, And that the said Maior and Cominaltie of the sd [3] Cittie aforesd or ther Successors or any of them in the free vse & enioym't of the premisses or of any of them by vs or o^{r} Successors or by any of our Justices Shreiffes Bayliffes or other [4] Minnisters of vs or our Successors or by any of them shall not be hindred molested or in anywise disturbed WEE also willing & by these presents Commanding & requeering aswell the Treasurer Commissioners of the Treasury Chancellor & Barons of the Exchequer at Westmister for the tyme being & all other the Justices of vs And our Successors as alsoe o^{r} Atturny & Sollicittor

[1] [*used* T.]
[2] [T omits *or*.]
[3] [T omits *said*.]
[4] [*other officers or* T.]

Generalle for the tyme being and all other Officers & Minnisters whatsoever of vs & o^{r} Successors, That neither they nor any of them shall make or cause to be made continued or p'secuted any Write or Summons of Quo Warranto or any other write or p'cesse whatsoeu^{r} agaynste the aforesd Maior & Cominaltie of the Cittie aforesd or ther Successors or any of them for any causes things matters offences clayme or vsurpation by them or any of them heretofore vnduely claymed vsed or attempted had or vsurped before the day of the date of these presents Willing alsoe & by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors Commandinge & requiering That the Maior & Cominaltie of the Cittie aforesd or ther Successors or any of them by any the Persons Justices officers or Ministers aforesd in or for the vndue vse Clayme or Vsurpation of any other Liberties Franchezes Jurisdictions within the Citty aforesd or the Lymitts or precints therof before the day of the date of these presents shall not be molested or disquieted or Compelled to answare to them or any of them And whereas alsoe in & by a Certaine Grant or Charter [1] of the late Kinge James made & granted to the sd Maior & Comminaltie of the sd Cittye of Newe Sarum & ther Successors beareing date at Westmister the second day of March in the Nineth yeare of his Raygne ouer England, And in & by one other Charter or Grant made by the Late Kinge Charles beareinge date at Canterbury [2] the seavententh day of August in the Sixth yeare of his Raygne or by one of the sd Charters it is (amongst other things) granted & Confermed to the Maior and Cominaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie and ther Successors that in the sd Cittie there should be one Maior one Recorder fower and Twenty Aldermen & eyght and fortie Assistants NOW FOR AS MUCH as we are informed that o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum is lesse populous then heretofore whereby trade & commerce ther is of late decayed soe that the aforesd number of Aldermen & Assistants ther cannot with Conveniency to the present well government of the sd Cittie be had & Continued as in tymes paste, We therefore for vs & o^{r} Successors doe will & ordayne & grant vnto the Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors by these presents That for the better government of our sd Cittie Liberties & presincts therof ther shalbe for ever hereafter within the sd

[1] [*Charter or Grant* T.]
[2] [*Canbury* T.]

A Maior Recorder 15 Aldermen 24 Assistants

Cittie a Maior & Recorder fifteene Aldermen & fower & Twentye Assistants to be nominated chossen & sworne as is herein after mencioned who shalbe & shalbe for ever hereafter called the Maior & Cominaltie of the Cittie of New Sarum, And that there shalbe

2 Chamberlins one Bayliffe One Towne Clarke One Corroner 4 high Counstables 13 Sub Counstables 3 Sergent at Mace

for ever hereafter Two Chamberlins one Bayliffe one Towne Clarke one Corroner & fower high Counstables Thirteene Sub Counstables & Three Sergants at the Mace within the sd Cittie, to be Chossen in Manner & forme herein after mentioned, And of o^{r} Lik especiall grace Certayne knowledge & meere mocion We doe by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors Will ordayne declare constitute grant & appoynt that the [1] *Maior Recorder fiftene Aldermen & fower & Twenty Assistance of o^{r} said Cittie of New Sarum for the tyme being, And they which hereafter shalbe the Maior Recorder Aldermen & Assistants* within the same & ther Successors for ever hereafter be & shalbe by force of these presents one Body Corperate & Politique in deede facte & name by the name of the Maior & Comminaltie of the Cittie of New Sarum, And them by the name of the Maior & Comminaltie of the Cittie of New Sarum one body Politique & Corperate [2] in deed facte & name We doe for vs & o^{r} Successors really and ffully Create ordayne make Constitute & conferme [3] by these presents, And that by the same name of the Maior & Cominaltie of the Cittie of New Sarum they may have perpetuall Succession, And that they & there Successors for ever by the name of the Maior & Commonaltie of the Cittie of New Sarum be & shalbe for ever hereafter p'sons able & in Lawe cappable to plead & be Impleaded answare & be answared vnto deffend & be deffended in all or any the Courts of vs & o^{r} successors & other places whatsoever, And before any Judges Justices & other p'rson or p'rsons whatsoever in all & all manner of actions Sutes Complaynes Demands pleas Causes & matters whatsoev^{r} of what nature kind or quallitie soev^{r} in the same & in the like manner & forme as other people of England being prsons able & in lawe Capable may plead & be Impleaded answare and be answared vnto defend & be defended by any lawfull wayes or meanes whatsoever, And that the sd Maior & Comminaltie of the Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors shall

One Common Seale

& may for ever hereafter haue one Common Seale to serue for the

[1] [After this word T reads *cittizens of our said citty of New Sarum and they which hereafter shall be cittizens* and omits the words printed in italics.]
[2] [*Corporate and Politick* T.] [3] [*continue* T.]

Sealling of all & singuler there affayres matters & bussinesses tutching & conserning the sd Corporacion, And that it shall & may be lawfull to & for the sd Maior and Comminaltie of the sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors at ther will & pleasure from tyme to tyme to breake change alter & new make ther sd Common Seale when & as often as to them it shall seme most Convenient. AND further knowe yee that we haue assigned named [1] & Constituted & by these presents for vs & o[r] successors doe assigne name & [2] ordayne & Constitute our Welbeloued William Stone now Maior of o[r] sd Cittie of New Sarum to be the present Maior of o[r] said Cittie & that he the sd William Stone shall remayne & Continue in the office of Maior ther vntell a nother fitte prson shalbe chossen & Sworne into the sd office accordinge to the vsuayge & Custome of the sd Cittie, and as in & by theise presents is hereafter mencioned & directed, And wee haue assigned named ordained and Constituted & by these presents doe assigne name ordayne & Constitute Create & declare our Welbeloued Henry Eyre esqre to be the present Recorder of o[r] said Cittie to doe & execute all things which vnto the office of Recorder of the said Cittie doth or may any way appertayne & belonge, And alsoe we haue assigned named Constituted & made & by these presents doe assigne name Constitute & make our Welbeloued John Ivie the elder, James Abbot, Humphry Ditton the elder, Edward Edmonds the elder, Thomas Raye Richard Phelps Robert Good Thomas Cuttler Christopher Batte Thomas Abbot Edmond Abbot George Legge George Lane James Heely [3] John Ivie the younger Cittizens & Inhabitants of o[r] sd Cittie of New Sarum to be the present fifteene Aldermen of o[r] sd Cittie, And alsoe we haue assigned named Constituted & made & by these presents doe assigne name constitute and make our Welbeloued Nicholas Beach Simon Rolfe George Masters George Mervin Thomas Williams Nicholas Parsons Isacke A Courte Richard Grafton William Antram Edward Froudeius Ambrosse West Thomas Wrens Richard Combe Humphry Ditton the younger John Horne Edward Edmonds the younger Wolstone Abbot William Collier Richard Heely Timothy Adlam John Hellary John Powell John James & William Pewd Cittizens & Inhabitants of the said Citty of New Sarum to be the present fower and Twenty Assistance of the said Cittie, And alsoe we haue assigned chossen

[1] [*named ordeyned and* T.] [2] [*name, ordeyne and* T.]
[3] [*Heely and* T.]

named & constituted o^r welbeloued Nicholas Beach & George Masters Citizens & Inhabitants of the sd Cittie to be the present Chamberlins of the Cittie aforesd, And we haue assigned named Constituted & appoynted And by these presents doe assigne name Constitute & appoynt o^r welbeloued Thomas Cuttler one other of the sd Cittiezens there to be the present Baylife of o^r sd Cittie who shall continue in that office untell another fit prson be Chossen & Sworne in his place, And alsoe we haue assigned chossen named & Constituted our welbeloued Edward Frowde Ambrose West Thomas Wrens & John Horne Cittizens & Inhabitants of the sd Cittie to be the present high Constables of the sd Cittie whoe shall Continue in that office of High Constables of the sd Cittie vntell other fite prsons be Chossen and Sworne in ther places, And alsoe we doe assigne chuse nominate and Counstitute our welbeloued Thomas Ray Lyning Drapr William Cooper Henry Gantlett Richard Floud Nicholas Stapells John Eastman John Hill Roger Basket William Gapin William Spender Stephen Smith Robart Gray and Thomas Lawne alsoe Cittizens & Inhabitants of the sd Cittie to be the prsent Sub counstables of the sd Cittie who shall continue in the sd office vntell other fit persons be Chosen & sworne in ther places, And alsoe we haue assigned chossen nominated & Constituted & by these presents doe assigne chuse nominate & constitute o^r welbeloued Robart Haytor[1] Cittizen of the sd Cittie to be the present Principall Sergent at Mace within o^r sd Cittie & Francis West & George Nicholas Cittizens & Inhabitants there to be the two other present Sergants at Mace AND we will & by these presents for vs & our successors doe grant to the sd Maior & Cominaltie of o^r sd Cittie of New Sarum and ther successors

Sword & Cap of Mayntenance granted

That the Maior of the sd Cittie for the tyme being shall & may haue a Sworde to be borne before him & a Cap of Mayntenance in such sort as is used before any other Maiors of any of our Citties In England, And that for ever hereafter there be & shalbe an officer of the sd Cittie who shalbe called the Sworde bearrer therof whose office shalbe to beare a Sworde & to weare a Cap of Mayntenance before the Maior of the sd Cittie for the tyme being, And we haue assigned chossen nominated & Constituted and by these presents doe assigne Chuse nominate & Constitute our welbeloued Richard Floud Cittizen & Inhabitant of o^r sd Cittie to be the first & present Sword bearrer of o^r sd Cittie & doe hereby will & appoynt

[1] [*Hatter* T.]

that the sd officer shall haue precedency of place before the Sergents at Mace of the sd Cittie ALSOE we will & by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors doe grant to the sd Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & theire Successors, That the Maior Recorder Aldermen and Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being or the Maior & any eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants for the tyme being be & shalbe called the Common Counsell of the sd Cittie & shall or may haue full power & Authoritie by vertue of these presents from tyme to tyme to call & hold Common Counsells within the Counsell house of the sd Cittie and ther to make Lawes [1] ordinances & Constitutions in writteing from tyme to tyme as to them shall seeme nessesary & Convenient (not repugnant to the Lawes of England) ffor the good rulle & goverment of the sd Cittie & Liberties of the same & of the Severall Companies of Marchants And other tradsmen & Inhabitants of the sd Cittie Liberties & prescints aforesd, which sd Lawes ordinances orders & Constitutions shalbe binding to all and every of the Inhabitants of the sd Cittie Liberties & precints aforesd, AND further we will & grant that the sd Common Councell of the sd Cittie for the tyme being as often as they shall make ordayne & establish such lawes orders ordinances & Constitutions as aforesd shall or may make ordayne limite ꝑvide sett imposse & tax resonnable fines & Amercements agaynst & vpon all persons offending agaynst such lawes orders ordinances & Constitutions or any of them to be made ordayned & established as aforesd, And the same fines & Amercements shall or may requier demand levey take & recene by warrants vnder ther Common Seale to & for the vse & behoofe of the Maior and Cominaltie of the sd Cittie & ther Successors eyther by distresse & Sale of the goods & Chattells of the offenders therin (if such goods & chattells may be found within o^{r} sd Cittie Liberties & Precints therof Rendringe vnto such offender or offenders the overplus or by any other lawfull ways or means whatsoever AND we doe by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors appoynte & ordayne that the ellection of the Maior of the said Cittie & of the Bayliffe of the sd Cittie and of the Chamberlines high Counstables Swordbearrer Sub Counstables & Sergents at the Mace hereafter to be Chossen within the sd Cittie shalbe yearely for ever on the Wensday immediatly preceeding the feast of St. Mathew the Appostell in the Counsell

The Maior 8 Aldermen 12 Assistants mak a Common Counsell

Lawes & ordinances to be made but not ag't Law

ffines Reasonable

To levy ffines by warrant

Election of the Maior and officers

[1] [*Lawes, orders* T.]

house of the sd Cittie out of the fittest ablest & discreetest Cittizens or Inhabitants of the said Cittie for the beareing & executing of the severall offices & places before mencioned by the Maior Recorder & the sd fifteene Aldermen & fower & Twentye Assistants for the tyme being or any eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelve or more of the Assistance [1] (the Maior & recorder for the tyme being or either of them being present who shall continue in the sd severall offices vntell others be Chossen & Sworne into their respective places & offices AND we doe alsoe by these presents for vs & o[r] Successors give & grant full power and Authoritie vnto the Maior Recorder Aldermen & Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being or any eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelve or more of the Assistants the Maior & Recorder for the tyme being or either of them being prsent as aforesd on the Wensday before the feast of St Mathew the Apostell yearely in the Councell house of the sd Cittie *if they shall think fitte* [2] to nominate elect & Choose out of the Cittizens or [3] inhabitants of the sd Cittie fite & able prsons to be in the respective offices & places of [4] Aldermen and Assistants of the sd Cittie, And that such person as shalbe soe ellected & Chossen Maior as aforesd shall on the Wensday mounth next after the feast of St. Mathew the Apostell then next followeinge in the Councell house aforesd take his Oath Before the Recorder [5] and Assistants for the tyme being or before any fiue or more of the Aldermen for the due execution of his sd office, And that the sd Maior soe to be Chossen as aforesd shall remayne & Continue in the sd office vntell another fitte person shalbe chossen & Sworne into his place of Maior of the sd Cittie in manner as aforesd, which [6] oath the sd Recorder Aldermen & Assistants or any fiue or more of the Aldermen shall & may lawfully administer & haue hereby power to administer vnto the sd Maior soe elected as aforesd from tyme to tyme accordingly AND further we will that the Recorder Aldermen & Assistants Bayliffes Chamberlins high Counstables Sword bearrer Sub Counstables Sergents at the Mace & all other officers of the sd Cittie, before they or any of them shalbe admitted to enter vpon & execute ther respective offices shalbe Sworne to execute the same before the Maior or any three or more of the Aldermen of the sd Cittie for the tyme being And we doe by these presents for

Tyme of Swareing

All officers to be Sworne

[1] No parenthesis sign in T.
[2] T omits the words in italics.
[3] [*and inhabitants* T.]
[4] [*Maior Aldermen* T.]
[5] [*Recorder, Aldermen* T.]
[6] [*which said* T.]

vs & o^{r} Successors giue power and Authoritie to the Maior of the sd Cittie for the tyme being or any three of the Aldermen of the sd Cittie for the tyme being to administer the sd Respective Oaths vnto them accordingly. AND further we will & by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors doe grant that the Maior & Recorder of the said Cittie for the tyme being & five or more of the Aldermen of the sd Cittie (not exceeding the number of eight Aldermen) being such as have borne the office of the Maior there shalbe Justices & Keepers of the peace of vs & o^{r} Successors & Justices of Oyer & Terminer of vs & o^{r} Successors within the sd Cittie & the Liberties & precints thereof. AND that they or any three or more of them (whereof the Maior & Recorder of the sd Cittie for the tyme being we will to be Two) shall & may for ever hereafter have power & Authority by vertue of these presents to here & determine all & all manner of petty Treasons Murders Felons [1] Riots Routs oppressions extortions Forestallers [2] Regratures And all other Trespasses & offences whatsoever within o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & the Liberties & precints aforesd from tyme to tyme arisseing & happening & which shall arise or happen & any ways belonge [3] to the office of Justices of peace or Oyer & Terminer, And the Correction and punishm^{t} of the offences aforesd & every of them according to the Lawes of England & to doe & execute all other things within the sd Cittie Liberties & precints aforesd Soe fully and in as ample manner as to the Comissioners assigned & to be assigned for the keeping of the peace within the sd Countye of Wilts or elsewheare in England doth or may any way belonge & as fully & amply as any Justices of Oyer & Terminer by vertue of any Commission of Oyer & Terminer heretofore appoynted or hereafter to be appoynted (Matters of high Treason only excepted) haue vsed to doe & execute or may doe & execute AND we doe by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors Inhibite & forbide all & singuler the Commissioners assigned & to be assigned for the keepeing of the peace and Commissioners of Oyer & Terminer of o^{r} sd Countye of Wilts for the tyme being that they or any of them doe not intermedle with or exercisse any Jurisdiction as Justices of peace or as Justices of Oyer & Terminer for any Matter or thing whatsoever ariseing within o^{r} said Cittie & Liberties & precints thereof for or [4] Concerneing any offence or offences whatsoever

8 Justices

3 or more of them the Maior & Recorder to be Two keepe Seassions

High Treason excepted

[1] [*Felonies* T.] [2] [*Forestallaries* T.] [3] [*belonging* T.] [4] [*and* T.]

(except for high Treason only as afforesd AND we doe by these presents will & [1] declare assigne & appoynt that the present Maior & Recorder of o[r] s[d] Cittie herein before mencioned & [2] named & John Ivie Senior James Abbot Humphrye Ditton Edward Edmonds Senior and Richard Phelps be o[r] present Justices of peace & Justices of Oyer & Terminer within the sd Cittie Liberties & precints aforesd AND further we will that o[r] Justices of peace & Justices of Oyer & Terminer before named nor any of them nor any other person or persons hereafter to be chossen Justice or Justices of the peace or Justices of Oyer & Terminer within o[r] sd Cittie or [3] Libertyes therof doe take upon him or them the execution of the office of Justice of peace or of Justices of [4] Oyer & Terminer ther vntell such person or prsons shall haue taken the oath appoynted or to be appoynted for such Justice & Justices before the Maior & Aldermen of the Cittie or any three or more of them for the tyme being And the sayd Maior & Aldermen of the sd Cittie for the tyme being or [3] any three or more of them shall have by vertue of these presents full power and Authoritie to giue & administer the oath & oaths aforesd vnto any [5] prson & prsons & every of them as shalbe Chossen Justice or Justices of [6] peace & as by vertue of these presents shalbe Justice & Justices of the peace & Justices of Oyer & Terminer within the sd Cittie & Liberties therof, AND MOREOUER we doe by these presents for vs & o[r] successors will & appoynt That the Justices of the peace of o[r] sd Cittie & the Justices of Oyer & Terminer within the sd Cittie & the Liberties therof (except the Maior & Recorder for the tyme being) be yearely Chossen on the aforesd Wendsday next before the feaste of St. Mathewe the Appostle in the Councell house of the sd Cittie by the Maior Recorder Aldermen & Assistants of the sd Cittie or by the Maior & [7] eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being And that the aforesd Justices of the peace & Justices of Oyer & Terminer there for the tyme being & every of them soe Chossen & Sworne as aforesd & alsoe the Maior & Recorder of o[r] sd Cittie for the tyme being by ther [8] or either of ther Warrants all & every prson or [3] prsons for high Treason or for petty Treason or for suspition therof & for other fellones whatsoever & all Malifactors & disturbers of the peace & other offenders for other Misdemenors

Justices to be Sworne

Justices yearely to be Chossen

[1] [T omits *and.*] [2] [T omits *mentioned and.*] [3] [*and* T.] [4] [*or justice of*, T.]
[5] [*any such* T.] [6] [*of the* T.] [7] [*and any* T.] [8] [*or any or* T.]

(who shall be apprehended within the sd Cittie or the Libertie thereof) shall & may send & Comitte or cause to send[1] & committed [*sic*] to the Common Goale of the sd Cittie ther to remayne & to be kept in saffe Custody by the Keeper of the sd Goale or his deputie for the tyme being, vntell such offender & offendors shalbe Lawfully delivered thence And we doe by these presents for vs & o^r^ Successors charge & Requier the Keeper & Keepers of the sd Goale for the tyme being & his & ther deputy & deputyes to Receave take & in saffe Custody to keepe all & singuler such person & persons soe apprehended or to be apprehended & sent & committed to the sd Geoale by warrant of the sd Justices or any of them as aforesd vntell he or they soe sent & Committed to the sd Goale shall from thence be deliu'ed by Due Course of Law AND further we doe by these presents for vs & o^r^ Successors grant vnto the sd Maior & Comminaltie of o^r^ sd Cittie & ther Successors, that the sd Maior & Comminaltie & ther Successors shall for ever hereafter haue full power & Authoritie by vertue[2] of these presents to cause a paire of Gallowes to be set up within the Cittie Liberties & precints aforesd to hange Malifactors adjudged to death within the sd Cittie according to the Lawes & Statuts of England or ells to cause the same Malefactors adiudged to death to be ledd to the Gallows erected or to be errected at Fisherton Anger in the Countye of Wilts ther to be hanged AND we will ordayne Constitute & appoynt by these presents for vs & o^r^ Successors that the Recorder of o^r^ sd Cittie for the tyme being be & shalbe CUSTOS ROTULORUM of o^r^ sd Cittie AND that the Maior of o^r^ sd Cittie for the tyme being & Christopher Batte who is hereby appoynted the present[3] Clarke of the Statuts there, haue & by vertue of these presents shall haue power as formerly to take Recognizens of debts ther accordinge to the forme of the Statute of Marchants & the Statute of Acton Burnell And that the Maior of the sd Cittie & Clarke of the Statuts ther for the tyme being shall by vertue of these presents haue full power & authoritie to doe & execute all things by force of the same Statutes or either of them as doth may or ought to belonge to them or eyther of them to doe &[4] execute AND further we doe for vs & o^r^ Successors will & grant by these presents that the sd Maior & Clarke of the Statuts within o^r^ sd Cittie for the tyme being may haue one seale each[5] as they

Keeper of the Goale

A Gallowes to execute

Recorder Custos Rotulorum

Clarke of the Statuts

[1] [*be sent* T.]
[2] [T omits *vertue of.*]
[3] [T omits *the present.*]
[4] [*or* T.]
[5] [*such* T.]

from tyme to tyme shall thinke fite to make vse of, And that the sd seale shalbe of Two peeces of which one pte shalbe called the greater & shall remayne with the said Maior for the tyme being & the other parte shalbe called the Lesser & shall remayne with the Clarke of the Statutes for the tyme being to Seale such Statuts Marchant or Recognizens in the nature of Statutes Marchants hereafter to be acknowledged before them or Certifficats as well of any such Statuts or Recognizens heretofore acknowledged as of such Statuts or Recognizens hereafter to be acknowledged within the sd Cittie according to the Statutes aforesd or either of them, And we will that the sd Clarke of the Statuts for the tyme being doe writte & Inrolle the sd Statutes Marchants or Recognizens aforesd soe to be taken & shall doe all other things expedient & belonging to the sd office. AND we doe likewise by these presents for vs and o^{r} successors will & grant That the Maior Recorder Aldermen & Assistance of o^{r} sd Cittie for the tyme being & the Maior Recorder or any eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants for the tyme being shall vpon the Death or Remouall of the sd Clarke of the Statuts for the tyme being have full power & authoritie by vertue of these presents at ther will & pleasure & within convenient tyme to chuse one other fitte prson to be the Clarke for the takeing of such Statuts or Recognizens of debts within the sd Cittie as aforesd, And alsoe from tyme to tyme to chuse such person or prsons as they shall thinke fite to be Coroner of the sd Cittie, Towne Clarke, Clarke of the Peace, Clarke of the Court of Pleas & to be Clarke & Clarks of the other other [*sic*] Court and Courts to be holden within the sd Cittie & the [1] liberties & precints thereof when and as often as the sd severall places shall happen to be voyd. AND we do by these presents Constitute & appoynt o^{r} welbeloued Thomas Gardner gentleman to be the present Corroner: Towne Clarke Clarke of the peace Clark of the Court of Pleas & Clerke of the other Court & Courts to be holden within o^{r} sd Cittie & the libertie & precints therof. AND further we doe by theise presents for vs & o^{r} Successors requier & strayghtly Charge & Command that the Bayliffe of the sd Cittie, the Towne Clarke, Clarke of the peace the High Constables Swordbearrer Sub Counstables & Sergants at Mace within o^{r} sayd Cittie for the tyme being & every of them

To chuse the Clarke of the Statutes at pleasure

Coroner Towne Clarke Clark of the peace Clark of the Courts

[1] [T omits *the*.]

respectiuely joyntly or severally as cause shall requier shall attend vpon the Maior Recorder & Aldermen & Justices of the peace of the sd Cittie for the tyme being & every or any of them according to the dutye of ther respectiue places in & about the executing of such the Commands Precepts Warrants & pcesse of them & every of them as belongeth & [1] appertayneth to be done or executed. And in casse the Maior of o^r^ sd Cittie ffor the tyme being shall dureing the tyme of his Maioraltie misbehaue himself in that office WEE doe by these presents for vs & o^r^ Successors will & declare that it shall & may be lawfull to & for the Recorder Aldermen & Assistants or for eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelve or more of the Assistants of the sd Citty for the tyme being to remoue such Maior from his sd office of Maiorallitye for Misgoum^t^ or Misbehauiour therin, And in such casse or in case of the death of the Maior of the sd Cittie for the tyme being in the tyme of his Maiorallitye We will that within fower dayes or other convenient tyme next after such remoueall or death the Recorder Aldermen & Assistants or eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelve or more of the Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being doe Chuse another fit & discreet prson in the place of him soe dead or remoued to be Maior of the sd Cittie, And least ther should be a failer of Justice & gouerment in o^r^ s^d^ Cittie in such Intervall, We doe for vs & o^r^ Successors will that the Senior or Eldest Alderman of the sd Cittie for the tyme being shall take vpon him the place & office of the Maior ther & shall exercisse the same vntell another fitte prson shalbe Chossen as aforesd, And in casse of the disabillitye of such eldest Alderman that then the next Alderman in Senioritye of place to him shall take vpon him the sd place & office of Maior of the sd Cittie & libertyes thereof & shall exercisse the same as aforesd, And that such senior or eldest Alderman or Such Alderman next in Senioritye of place to him shalbe Immediatly after the death or Remoueall of the former Maior Sworne to execute the same accordingly before three or more of the Aldermen of the sd Cittie for the tyme being who are hereby authorized to administer the same oath in that behalfe AND we do likewise by these presents for vs & o^r^ Successors grant vnto the said Maior & Cominaltie of the sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors that the Maior Aldermen & Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being or the Maior & any eight or more of the

To remoue the Maior

[1] [*or* T.]

Aldermen & Twelve or more of the Assistants of the said Cittie for the tyme being shall haue power & authoritye by vertue of these presents at ther pleasure to Remoue the Recorder of the sd Cittie ffor the tyme being from his sd place or office of Recorder there And in casse of such remoueall or in casse of the death of the Recorder of the sd Cittie for the tyme being to chuse & ellect another fit prson learned in the Laws of England to be Recorder ther & soe to continue dureinge pleasure as aforesd. AND further that the Maior Recorder Aldermen & Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being or the Maior & eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants of the said Cittie for the time being shall haue power from tyme to tyme by vertue of these presents to remoue any of the Justices of the peace within the sd Cittie for the tyme being (other than the Maior & Recorder there for the tyme being) from the office of Justices of the peace ther for misbehauiour or other iust or reasonnable Cause, And in [1] casse of Remoueall or in case of the death of any of the Justices of the peace ther, in convenient tyme to make choise of and Nominate & elect one or more of the Aldermen of the sd Cittie who hath or haue borne the office of Maior ther to be a Justice or Justices of the peace within the sd Cittie in the place of such Justice or Justices of the peace soe remoued or dead as aforesd AND further we doe by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors grant vnto the sd Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther successors that if any Alderman or Aldermen of the sd Cittie shall at any tyme hereafter Misdemeane him or themselues in the execution of his or ther places of Aldermen ther It shalbe lawfull to & for the Maior Recorder Aldermen & Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being or the Maior or any eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being in such casse to remoue such Alderman or Aldermen (soe Misdemeaning him or themselues) from holding or exercisseing such place or places of Alderman or Aldermen of the sd Cittie, And in such casse of remoueall or in casse of the death of any of the Aldermen of the sd Cittie in convenient tyme to chose other fit person or prsons to be Alderman or Aldermen of the sd Cittie in the place or places of him or them soe remoued or dead. AND if any of the Assistants of the sd Cittie Bayliffe Coroner Towne Clarke, Clarke of the peace Clarke of the Court of Pleas & other

To remoue the Recorder at pleasure

To remoue the Justices

To remoue any Alderman

[1] [*in such* T.]

Courts aforesd Clarke of the Statutes Chamberlynes high Counstables Sword bearrer Sub Counstables Sergant [1] at the Mace for the tyme being or any of them shall Misbehaue him or themselues by neglect or otherwise in the execution of ther or any of ther respectiue place or places then and in such casse it shall & may be lawfull to & for the Maior Recorder Aldermen & Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being or the Maior or any eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme beinge by vertue of these presents to remoue him or them from his & ther place or places for such his or ther Misbehaviour & neglect therein And in such case of remoueall or of the death of any prson or persons in such office or offices as aforesd in convenient tyme to chose other fit prson or prsons to be in ther [2] place or places of him or them soe dead or remoued. AND alsoe we will & by these presents for vs & o[r] Successors doe grant to the sd Maior & Comminaltie of o[r] sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors that if any of the Cittizens of the sd Cittie or Inhabitants within the Liberties & precints therof that shall hereafter be elected nominated & chossen to the office of Maior Justice of the peace Alderman Assistant Bayliffe or Chamberline of the sd Cittie as aforesd & haueing notice of his or ther sd election shall refusse or deny to take vpon him or them & to execute that office to which he or they shalbe soe chosen & nominated that then & soe often it shall & may be lawfull for the Maior Recorder Aldermen & Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being or the Maior & any eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being to Tax assese & Imposse vpon such person or prsons soe refusseing or denyeing such Resonnable & Moderate fines & somes of mony as to ther discretions shalbe thought most fite, soe as the sd fine penalty or som of mony for Refusseing or denying to hold & execte the office of Maior of the sd Cittie doe not exceed the some of one hundred pounds And the fine for refussing or denyeing to hold & execute the place of an Alderman doe not exceed the sum of fortie pownds, And the fine for refusseing or denying to hold & execute the place of an Assistant doe not exceed the sume of Twenty pownds And soe as the fine for refusseing or denyeing to hold & execute the respectiue places of Bayliffe or Chamberlaine of the sd Cittie doe not exceed the sume of Tenn powndes AND we

To remoue any Assistant or any other officer

Mayor refusseing to be fined not exceeding £100

Aldermen not exceeding £40

Assistants not exceeding £20

[1] [*serjeants* T.]

[2] [*the* T.]

Bayliffe or Chamberline not exceeding £10

doe by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors Authorize the Maior Recorder Aldermen & Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being or the Maior & [1] eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants there for the tyme being to frustrate & make voyd the ellection of such prson or prsons soe refusseing or denyeing as aforesd & then & in such casse [2] any other fit & able prson or prsons Cittizen or Cittizens of the sd Cittie or Inhabiteing [3] within the liberties and precints thereof in convenient tyme to ellect a new to execute such office or offices soe denyed or refussed to be executed as aforesd And that if it shall happen that such prson or prsons soe to be elected a new shall refusse or deny to take upon him or them any of the sd office or offices vnto which he or they shalbe so chosen & elected as aforesd then & in such casse the sd Maior Recorder Aldermen & Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being or the sd Maior [4] & any eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants there for the tyme being shall & may set & imposse vpon him or them for [5] denying or refusseing such & the like moderate fines penalties & sumes of mony for such refusall & denyeing to hold & execute any of the sd offices or places as aforesd not exceeding the respectiue sume & sumes hereby before limitted for denial & refusal to hold & execute each of the sd places as aforesd & soe to continue to make voyd the ellection of prsons refusseing & to fine the refusers & to ellect & chuse others vntell the sd respectiue places shalbe full, All which sd fines soe to be taxed assessed set

Fines levied by warrant

& impossed we will & grant by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors shalbe & shall remayne & belong vnto & shall be put into the possession & Seison of the Maior & Cominaltie of the sd Cittie for the tyme being & their successors to be levyed & taken by warrant vnder ther Common Seale & by distresse & Sale of the goods & chattells of the severall prsons soe refusseing or denyeing as aforesd if such goods & chattells may be fownd within the Cittie liberties & precints aforesd (Rendring to the parties the overplus) or by any other lawfull wayes or meanes whatsoever To the only vse of the sd Maior & Comminaltie of the sd Cittie of New Sarum and ther Successors without any accoumpt to be rendred made or done to vs or our Successors for the same AND further of o^{r} more ample grace certayne knowledge & mere mocion we doe by these presents

[1] [*and any* T.] [2] [*and cases* T.] [3] [*Inhabitants* T.]
[4] [T omits *said.*] [5] [*soe* T.]

for vs & o^{r} Successors grant & conferme to the Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors, That the cittizens of our sd Cittie or any of them shall not at any tyme hereafter be distrayned or compelled to go out of the sd Cittie or the liberties & precints thereof to serue vpon or tutching any pleas Assises, Juries or Inquests to be taken (vnless the same doe concerne vs or o^{r} Successors or the Comminaltie of the said Cittie as hath bin ther accustomed AND we doe likewise by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors grant unto the Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors that the Maior and Recorder of the sd Cittie or either of them for the tyme being shall by vertue of these presents have power to take connisans of Record & duely to inrolle any deed or deeds in writteing made or to be made by any prson or prsons whatsoever (married woemen excepted) of for or tuching any lands teniments rents heriditaments debts goods & chattells whatsoever within the sd Cittie & the liberties & precints therof which acknowledgment & Inrollement ther shalbe & shall be adiudged reputed & taken to be as good & valued in the law as if the same had been taken or accknowledged before any other prson or prsons authorized to take the acknowledgment of deeds or writtings & Inrolled in o^{r} Court of Chancery or in any other [1] Courts of Record AND further know yee that we for the better goverm^{t} of o^{r} sd Cittie & for the welfare of the Cittizens Tradsmen and Inhabitants thereof doe by these presents for vs and o^{r} Successors giue & grant to the Maior & Cominaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie & ther successors That the Maior Recorder Aldermen & Assistants of the s^{d} Cittie for the tyme being or the Maior & any Eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants of the s^{d} Cittie for the tyme being shall from tyme to tyme & at all tymes hereafter haue full power & authoritye at any Common Counsell to be held within the sd Cittie vnder ther Common Seale to make free Cittizens of the sd Cittie and liberties therof, And that no prson or prsons whatsoever (other than such free Cittizens shall hereafter vse any Art trade Mistery or manuall occupation within o^{r} sd Cittie & the liberties & precints therof (saveing in the tyme of the faiors there to be kept and dureing the Continuance of such faiers only) And in casse any prson or prsons whatsoever not being free Cittizens of o^{r} sd Cittie as aforesd shall at any tyme hereafter vse or exercise any Art Trade Mistery or Manuall occupacion or shall

No Cittizens Compeld to serue in Juries out of the Cittie

To make free Cittizens vnder ther Common Seale

None but such to vse a trade

[1] [*other our* T.]

by himselfe or them selues or others sell or exposse to sale any manner of Merchandize or Wares whatsoever in any house shoppe place or standing within the sd Cittie or the liberties and precints therof (no fayre being then kept in the sd Cittie) & shall persist therin after warneing to him or them giuen or to be giuen or left by the appoyntm^{t} of the Maior of the sd Cittie for the tyme being at the place or places wher such person or prsons shall soe vse or exercise any Art trade Mistery or Manuall occupation or shall sell or exposse to salle any Wares or Merchandize as aforesd Then it shalbe lawfull for the Maior of o^{r} sd Cittie for the tyme being to cause the shoppe windowes of such prson or prsons to be shut vp & alsoe to Imposse such Reasonable fine or fines vpon such offender or offenders as the s^{d} Maior for the tyme being shall think fitte soe as the sd fine doe not exceed Ten shillings for every tyme such person or prsons shall open or cause to be openned his her or ther shope or windowes with intent ther to put to sale any Wares or Marchandize or there to vse or exercisse any trade Art Mistery or manuall occupacion or shall elsewhere within the Cittie or liberties or presincts thereof vse or exercisse any Trade Arte Mistery or manuall occupation or sell or exposse to salle or cause to be sould or expossed to salle any ware or Marchandize after such warneing giuen or left to the contrary as aforesd And the same fine or [1] fines soe to be impossed to levie or cause to be levyed to & for the vse of the Maior and Cominaltie of o^{r} s^{d} Cittie & there Successors by warrant vnder the hands & seales [2] of the Maior of o^{r} sd Cittie for the tyme being by distresse & Sale of the goods & Chattells of such offender or offenders within the sd Cittie & liberties therof Rendring vnto such offender & offenders the overplus or by any other lawfull wayes or meanes whatsoever, And to haue & detayne the same to the vse of the sd Maior & Comminaltie & ther Successors without accoumpt to be giuen [3] rendred made or done to vs or o^{r} Successors for the same, And WEE doe by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors giue & grant full power & authoritie vnto the Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & their Successors that the sd Maior & Comminaltie & ther Successors be & shalbe for ever hereafter prsons able & capable to haue take & purchasse any Mannors Lands teniments & hereditaments whatsoever of vs or our Successors or of any other person or persons bodyes Politique

fine not exceeding 10*s.* per diem

[1] [*and* T.] [2] [*seale* T.] [3] [T omits *giuen.*]

or Corperate, And the same Mannors, Lands, teniments & heriditam[t]s to haue hold possesse & enioye to them & ther Successors for ever, soe as such Manners lands teniments & heriditaments to be hereafter purchassed exceed not in the whole the yearely value of five hundred pounds over & above all Charges and Reprizes The S[t]atute of Mortmaine or anything therin contayned or any other Act Statute Ordinance Matter cause or thing whatsoeu to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding, And the same mannors lands teniments & heriditim[t]s & every or any pte or prcell thereof to demise grant let set ouer assigne & dispose at theire owne will & pleasure And to make seale & accomplishe any deed or deeds leese or leeses evidences & writeings of for & concerneing the same or any pte therof which shall happen to be made & granted by the [1] Maior & Comminaltie of the sd cittie for the tyme being AND whereas we have Receaued Informacion that all that the sd circute of ground commonly called & knowne by the name of the close of New Sarum wherein the Cathedrall Church there commonly called St. Maris Church now standeth is & hath ben in tymes past reputed to be prsell of the sd Cittie of New Sarum within the ward there commonly called New Streate ward & that the same hath ben heretofore within the Rulle & goverment of the sd Cittie vntil the sd late King James by his Letters Pattents vnder his great seale of England beareing date the second Day of March in the Nineth yeare of his Raygne ouer England at the Instance of the then Bishoppe of Sarum severed the Same from the sd Cittie and therby (amongst other things) granted to the sd Bishoppe & to the Deane and Chapter & ther successors, That the sd Bishoppe & the Deane of Sarum & their successors & Robart then Erle of Salsbury & Lord Treasurer of England & then Clarke of the sd Bishopp's Courts there & the Clarke of sd [1] Courts for the tyme being and his deputye Clarke of the sd Courts Henry Erle of Northampton then Lord privey Seale & Counstable of the sd Church & his Deputye Counstable And William then Earle of Pembrooke & then cheife Bayleiffe of the Liberties of the sayd Bishope & the Bishopps Bayliffe for the tyme being & his Deputye & the Precentor of the Cancellor & Archdeacon & Treasurer of the same church and the Precentor of the Chancellor of the Diocesse of the Bishopp of Sarum for the tyme

To purchase not aboue £500 per an'

[1] [*the said* T.]

being & alsoe the Cannons resident of the same Church for the tyme being And Lawrrence Hide & John Lowe esqres the then Councell learned for the sd Church & any Two of them who should be then after of Councell learned for the sd Church should be the Justices of peace and Justices of Oyer & Terminer of the sd late King James & his Successors within the same Church & within the Scite Circute & precints of the walls & Close of the same Church, And within the precints of the Buildings and Mantion houses there from the place there called Harneham gate vnto & vpon the Brige called Harnham Brige mencioned in the same Letters Pattents to be within or neare the sd Cittie of New Sarum & alsoe within the Guildhalle and goale of the sd Cittie in the tyme of the Sessions of the peace there to be holden for the Closse of the Cannons of the sd Cathedrall Church forbidding the Justices of the peace of the sd Countye of Wilts & of the sd Cittie of New Sarum to enter or intromite themselves to doe any thinge respecting the offices of Justices of the peace of[1] Oyer and Terminer ther As by the sayd last mencioned Letters Pattents of the sd late Kinge James (relacion being thervnto had) may more fully appeare AND whereas by reason of the takeing awaye of the sd Archbishopps Bishopps Deanes & Deans & Chapters by authoritye of Parliment as aforesd[2] the sd goverment in & by the sd last mencioned letters Pattents soe established & circumscribed within the said Closse & within the Circute & precints thereof & other the places before mencioned is ceased wherby ther hath bin of late a failer of Justice there KNOWE yee therfore further that we for remidy therof of o^r^ like especiall grace certayne knowledge & meere mocion & for the due & orderly goverment of the prsons & Inhabitants for the tyme being dwelling & resideing within the precints aforesd & of the sd Close precints & places, for vs & o^r^ successors do by these presents will ordayne constitute declare & appoynt & do for vs & o^r^ Successors grant vnto the said Maior & Comminaltie and ther successors, That the aforesd Close called & knowne by the name of the Close of New Sarum with the liberties & precints thereof be & shalbe for ever hereafter estemed & taken to be prcell of o^r^ sd Cittie of New Sarum AND we doe for vs & o^r^ Successors by these presents vnite and annexe the same & every part & prsell therof vnto o^r^ sd Cittie of New Sarum for ever,

The Close granted to be prcell of the Cittie

And vnited to the Cittie

[1] [*or justices* T.]

[2] [*as aforesaid* follows *Deans and Chapters* in T.]

And doe will & grant that the same shalbe reputed deemed & taken for ever hereafter to be pte & prcell of the sd Cittie AND further we doe for vs & o^{r} Successors giue & grant vnto the sd Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors by these presents, And we doe hereby will constitute ordayne & declare that the Motes limits & bounds of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum shall extend into & through the sd Close & into & through all the Scite Circute & precints thereof & the walls & close of the sd Church & buildings & the Mancion houses there & from Harnham gate aforesd vnto Harnham Brige aforesd & into & through all & every other the places before Mencioned & every pte & prcell thereof AND further we doe by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors giue & grant vnto the sd Maior and Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther successors & we doe hereby will ordayne & appoynt that the Inhabitants of & within the sd Close & precints therof & within all & every the places before mencioned for the tyme being shalbe for euer [1] ordred rulled rated taxed & governed from tyme to tyme & at all tymes hereafter with & as the rest of the Cittizens & Inhabitants of the sd Cittie of New Sarum are or shalbe ordred rulled ratted taxed & gouerned according to the lawes and Statuts of England & according to the lawful grants Costomes and vsuages of the sd Cittie. AND that the sd Cittie of New Sarum together with the Close aforesd & the liberties & precints therof shalbe for ever hereafter a free Cittie & called & knowne by the name of the Cittie of New Sarum in the Countye of Wilts And that the sd Maior and Comminaltie & ther successors shall for ever hereafter haue hold exercise & enioye within the sd Circute of ground called the Close of New Sarum such & the same liberties privilidges franchezes Rights Royalties free Customes Jurisdictions & Immunitys as by vertue of these presents or otherwise they may or ought [2] haue hold exercise or enioye within the sd Cittie or any pte therof. PROUIDED never the lesse that if at any tyme hereafter it shall appeare vnto us or our Successors to be Incovenient to haue the Close aforesd annexed to o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum That then vpon Declaracion to be made by vs or our Successors of such inconvenience this o^{r} grant as to the annexeing & Incorperating of the sd Close to & with o^{r} sd Cittie shall cease determine & be vtterly voyd as if the same had never

Vnder government of the Cittie

a pvission

[1] [*hereafter ordered* T.]

[2] [*might* T.]

ben annexed thervnto or Incorperated with the same, Any thinge in these presents contayned to the contrary notwthstanding AND FURTHER knowe yee that we of o^{r} more especiall grace certayne knowledge & mere mocion haue giuen & granted & by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors doe giue & grant to the Maior & Cominaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors that the Hospitall within o^{r} sd Cittie commonly called the Hospetall of the holy Trinitye & the pore people ther, be & from hence forth for ever shalbe gouerned & Rulled by the Maior & Comminaltie of the sd Cittie & ther Successors, And that the sd Maior & Cominaltie & ther Successors be & shalbe the Masters & governers thereof And we haue willed ordayned declared granted & confermed & by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors doe will ordayne declare grant & conferme that the Maior & Comminaltie of our sd [Cittie] of New Sarum & ther Successors together with the pore of the sd Hospitall for the tyme being shall from hence forth & for ever hereafter be continued [1] and Remayne one body Politique and Corperate in deed & in name by the name of the Masters and pore people of the Hospetall of the holy trinitye fownded in the City of New Sarum Sarum [*sic*] & them by the name of the Masters & pore people of the Hospitall of the h oly Trinitye fownded in the Cittie of New Sarum into one Body Politique & Corperate we doe for vs & o^{r} Successors really & fully Create ordayne Constitute & Make by these presents, And that by the same name they shall haue perpetuall Succession & that they & ther Successors for ever hereafter shall & may be prsons able & capable in the Law to take purchase haue hold & enioye any Mannors Lands & [2] Teniments in Mortename, And to plead & be impleaded answare & be answared vntó defend & be defended in all or any the Courts of vs & o^{r} Successors & other places whatsover & before any Judges Justices or other prson or prsons whatsoever in all & all manner of Suts Complaynts demands Pleas or Actions prsonall reall or mixte & in all other Causes Matters & demands whatsoever & of what nature kind or quallitie soever as other the people of this Nation being prsons able & capable in law may plead & be Impleaded answare & be answared vnto defend & be defended by any lawfull ways or Means whatsoever, And that by the same name of the Masters & pore people of the Hospitall of the holy

The Hospetall of the Holly Trinity granted

[1] [*continue* T.]

[2] [*or* T.]

trinitye fownded in the Cittie of New Sarum they & ther Successors for ever may seeke for Improue haue enioye & possesse & may grant & demise all & singuler Lands & Teniments ꝑfetts heriditaments goods Chattells & Rights whatsoever now belonging & which shall or may hereafter belong to the sd Hospetall, And alsoe that they & ther Successors for ever may have a Common Seale to serue for the Sealling of demises grants & leases & other businesses whatsoever to be from tyme to tyme made & executed by them & ther Successors tuching or conserneing the sd Hospitall or any the Mannors Lands teniments heriditaments goods or Chattells thervnto belonging or hereafter to belonge or appertayne And that it shall & may be lawfull to & for the sd Masters & pore people of the Hospitall of the holy Trinitye fownded in the Cittie of New Sarum & there Successors at ther will & pleasure to breke deface change alter & make Newe the sd Seale when & as often as to them it shall seme most convenient AND further we doe by theise presents for vs & o^r^ Successors giue & grant vnto the Masters & pore people of the Hospetall of the holy Trinity fownded in the Cittie of New Sarum & to ther Successors that they shall or may lawfully enioye & possesse all & singuler the mannors lands teniments ꝑfets & heriditaments & all goods Chattells & rights whatsoever to them belongeing or which shall hereafter belonge & that w^t^hout the Impediment lete or hindrance of vs or o^r^ Successors in such manner as they haue heretofore vsed & enioyed the same vpon this trust & confidence neverthelesse that the ꝑfets & benifitts of all & every such lands goods chattells & premises shall from tyme to tyme hereafter be employed to & for the benifite of the pore of the sd Hospetall according to such allowance for Releife of the sd pore people as in tyme past hath been vsed & allowed & to & for no other vse Intent or purpose whatsoever. AND WHEREAS ther is one other Hospettall Commonly Called the Hospetall of St. Nicholas scituate & being in or neare o^r^ sd Cittie of New Sarum heretofore fownded & Intended for the Mayntenance of pore people there to be kept & contayned [1] the care Right of Patronage visitation & Inspection of which sd Hospetall & of the Revennue therevnto belongeing was in tymes past & vpon the first fowndation thereof committed to the Deane & Chapter of New Sarum aforesd for the tyme being And whereas the Care right

[1] [*maynteyned* T.]

of patronage visitation & Inspection of the sd Hospetall & of the Revenue thereto belongeing is now devolued to vs & is now in o^{r} hands KNOWE yee therfore futher that we of o^{r} more ample grace certayne knowledge and mere mocion & for the better ordring & manageing of the affayres of the sd Hospetall of St Nicholas & the Revenue thereof & the goods and Chattells therto belonging haue giuen & granted & by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors doe giue & grant to the Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors for ever that from henceforth & for ever hereafter the Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum and there Successors shall haue the perpetuall care vissitation Inspection right of patronage & free dispossission of the sd Hospetall of St. Nicholas AND we doe by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors giue & grant vnto the Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Citty of Newe Sarum & ther Successors that the Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie for the tyme being or the Maior of the sd Cittie for the tyme being & any eight or more of the Aldermen & any Twelue or more of the Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being shall haue full power & authority from tyme to tyme & attall [1] times hereafter when it shall seeme to them exspedient to summon & call before them the Master of the sd Hospetall that now is & which for the tyme being shalbe & him & them to call to an accoumpt for the revenue of the sd Hospetall And if they shall see cause to displace the sd Master & Masters & all other [2] officer or officers to the sd Hospetall now & hereafter belonging & to belonge And to Nominate & appoynte other fite & Meet prson & prsons to be Master & to be officer & officers of for & w^{t}hin the sd Hospettall & to that end to call for & take into ther hands & custody all deeds Evidences Rent Rolles Books of accompt Legeir books & all manner of writteings whatsoever which belong to or any way concerne the right & Revenue of the sd Hospetall & to Inquier and Informe themselves by examinacion vpon oath (which oath we doe hereby giue them power to administer) of any prson or prsons whatsoever Touchinge the present condition & estate of the said Hospetall as alsoe to discover what estate or estates haue ben granted to any Tenant or Tenants of the sd Hospetall what fines haue bin thervpon taken & what Rents reserued as alsoe to inquiere of & concerneing what

St. Nicholas Hospetall granted

Power to call the Master to accoumpt

To displace the Master or officers

[1] [*at all time and* T.]

[2] [*other the* T.]

Wastes Spoyles incrochments or allinacions haue bin made of in & vpon all or any of the sd lands teniments woods and vnder-woods of Right belonging or any wayes appertayneing to the sd Hospetall of St. Nicholas from the tyme & at all tymes since the power & order of the late Deane & Chapter there hath ceased & ben exstinguished, And by all lawfull wayes & meanes to find out & discover all Sume & Sumes of money whether Rents Arreriges of Rents fines or any other Sume or Sumes of monye which now are or ought to be in right & to the vse of the sd Hospetall & which are in the hands of the present Master of the sd Hospetall or [1] any other prson, And thervpon to demand & Receue the same & likewise to Recover Satisfacion according to lawe in kind or in value to the vse of the sd Hospetall for whatsoever Measuages teniments lands Woods vnderwoods heriditaments Rents p̃fets or other the Revenue of the sd Hospetall haue ben or are or shalbe detayned withheld wasted or spoyled, AND we doe by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors will ordayne & appoynte that the Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Saram [*sic*] for the tyme being or the Maior & any eyght or more of the Aldermen & any Twelue or more of the Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being shall haue power & authoritye by vertue of these presents at alle tyme & tymes hereafter eiether upon the death or remouall of the Master of the sd Hospetall of St. Nicholas for the tyme being to elect Chuse nominate & appoynt some able knoweing & sufficient person (who shall for the most part reside in or about the sd Cittie) to be Master & governer of the sd Hospetall who shall haue power to demise & grant the Lands & Teniments of the said hospetall & to Receaue the rents thereof & p̃vide for the maynetenance and goverment of the pore people of the sd Hospetall & to doe all other things in as full and Ample manner as any Master of the sd Hospetall formerly did or might haue done AND we doe by these presents for vs & o^{r} successors declare o^{r} further will & pleasure to be that Such person & persons respectiuely who shall hereafter be master & governer of the sd Hospetall shall yearely & every yeare giue & make his accoumpte vpon oath to the Maior & Cominaltye of the sd Cittie of New Sarum for the tyme being or to the Maior or any eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being of the Surpluges & remaynder of Moneys that shall arise any Manner of

To ellect a new Master

The Master to accoumpt vpon oath

[1] [*or of* T.]

waye out of the Rents & Revenue of the sd Hospetall ouer & aboue what shall defray the severall allowances to the pore people of the sd Hospetall or any other publique Charge or exspence nessecary for the repayreing & better preserueing of the sd Hospetall AND we will that the Maior & Cominaltie of the sd Cittie of New Sarum for the tyme being or the Maior & any eight or More of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being doe make & giue to the Master & governer of the sd Hospetall soe accoumpting as aforesd Such reasonnable & fiting allowance or Stipend for his paynes & care in governeing the sd Hospetall & lokeing after the Rights & Revenues therof as in ther good discreations shall seme to them most mette and Just, And all such Stocke & Surpluges of the Rent & Issues & pfits of the sd Hospetall which vpon the accoumpt of the Master or governer of the sd Hospetall shall from tyme to tyme apeare to remayne in his hands WEE will & doe by these presents appoynt to be pd & shalbe pd by the sd Master or governer of the sd Hospetall for the tyme being vnto the Maior & Cominaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum for the tyme being to be dispossed of by them for & towards the reliefe of the pore of the sd Cittie or otherwise to be dispossed of according to the will & appoyntment of vs or o^{r} Successors AND we Will & command for vs & o^{r} Successors that the Accoumpts of the premises soe made & to be made as aforesd shalbe duely and fayerly written & kept from tyme to tyme for ever by the Maior & Cominaltye for the tyme being AND further we doe by theise presents for vs & o^{r} Successors grant to the Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & there Successors for ever full power & Authoritie that the sd Maior & Cominaltie of the sd Cittie & ther successors or the Maior for the tyme being & eight or more of the Aldermen & Twelue or more of the Assistants of the sd Cittie for the tyme being shall or May by vertue of these presents chang or alter any the Rulles orders & statuts of the sd Hospetall & make Constitute & ordayne new Rulls orders & Statutes [1] for the better goverment & preservacion thereof & of the Rights & members thereof as to them shall seme nessesary & convenient & shall or may doe & execute any other thing or things relateing to the sd Hospetall & that in as large & ample Manner & forme to all intents Constructions & purposses whatso-

To allow the Master A Stipend

Surpliges to be pd to the Maior & Comminaltie for the vse of the pore of the Cittie

To make new Rulls & orders

ever as the late Deane and Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of New Sarum or any of there predecessors Deans & Chapters there at any tyme or tymes heretofore did make & Constitute or Might haue made constituted done or executted & this without the Impediment lett or hindrance of vs or o^{r} successors AND FURTHER KNOWE YEE that we being willing that the Maior & Comminaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors may haue hold vse & enioye All & Singuler the [1] Mannors Lands Teniments heriditaments Liberties franchaceyes priviledges & Immunities according to the true Intent & meaneings of these our Letters Pattents not withstanding any Ambiguities defects or misprissions whatsoever in these our Letters Pattents happening WEE doe therfore will & by these [2] doe signifye & declare o^{r} will & pleasure to be & doe hereby for vs & o^{r} Successors Covenant & grant to & with the sd Maior & Comminaltie & ther Successors that if & whensoever it shall Happen any doubts questions ambiguities or defects at any tyme hereafter to arise or to be found in these o^{r} Letters Pattents for or in Respect that the sd Liberties francheses priviledges & Immunities & other the premises mentioned or Intended to be granted or confermed by these presents to the sd Maior & Cominaltie & ther successors or that any of them are not fully and playnely expressed or granted with words sufficient & large enough or for any other cause or matter whatsoever Soe as the sd Maior & Comminaltie or ther Successors by vertue & force of these presents the sd premises hereby granted or confermed or ment to be granted or confermed cannot or may not fully haue vse and enioye according to the true Intention of these o^{r} Letters Pattents, That then & soe often vpon the humble petticion of the sd Maior & Comminaltie or ther Successors to vs or o^{r} Successors in that behalfe to be exhibitted and prefered & vpon due examinacion & Certificate of such Ambiguities or defects in that behalfe by the Atturney Gennerall of England of vs or our Successors for the tyme being to be made Wee or o^{r} Successors will make & cause to be made to the sd Maior & Comminaltie & ther Successors other Letters Pattents to Passe the great Seale of England with Explanation amendment & Supply of all such doubts Ambiguitys & defects as to vs & o^{r} Successors in that behalfe shall seme Requisite & Reasonnable & for the better giueing granting secureing & Confermeing of the sd premisses to the sd Maior & Com-

[1] [T omits *the*.] [2] [*these presents* T.]

inaltie & ther Successors according to o^{r} true Intention & according to the true Intention & playne Significacion of the words in these o^{r} Letters Pattents conteyned Anything herein contayned to the Contrary notwithstanding AND further we will And by these presents for vs & o^{r} Successors doe grant to the sd Maior & Cominaltie of o^{r} sd Cittie of New Sarum & ther Successors that theise our Letters Patents or the Inrollement thereof and every Clause Matter & thing therein Contayned shalbe in & by all things for ever firme valid good sufficient and effectuall in Law agaynst vs & o^{r} Successors aswell in all o^{r} Courts of Record as else wheare without any further Confermacion Licences or Tolleracions of vs or o^{r} Successors hereafter to be had pcured or obtayned Notw^{t}hstanding the ill meaneing [1] or ill recitteing or not nameing or recitteing the Lands Liberties priviledges Customes & Immunities & other the premises by these presents granted or Confirmed or ment mencioned or intended to be hereby granted & confermed or any of them or any pte or prsell therof AND notwithstanding the not nameing or reciteing or ill nameing mencioneinge or Reciteing the severall Charters grants & Letters Pattents intended to be hereby Confermed AND notwithstandinge the misnameing or not rightly nameing of the aforesd Hospetalls or ther Lands liberties & priviledges AND notwithstanding the Statute made in the eyghteeneth of the Reign of King Henry the Sixth late Kinge of England AND notwithstanding any other defect or defects in the not truly & rightly nameing the nature kind forme quantity or quallitie of the premises or of any of them or of any part or parcell thereof AND notwithstanding any Law Statute Provision ordenance Direction or Restraynt, or any other cause matter or thinge whatsoever to the contrarye hereof in any wise notwithstand [2] AND LASTLY o^{r} will & pleasure is that the sd Maior and Comminaltie shall Inrolle or cause to be Inrolled these o^{r} Letters Pattents in the office of the Second Remembrancer otherwise called the Treasurers Remembrancer of o^{r} Exchequer within six mounths after the date hereof to the end the same may ther remayne of Record to o^{r} vse In witnesse whereof we haue caused theise o^{r} Letters to be made Pattent, Witnesse our selfe at Westmister the Twentyeth [3] day of September in the Yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty & sixe [4] BEALE

By Writ of Privy Seale

[1] [*nameing* T.] [2] [*notwithstanding* T.] [3] [*Twelfth* T.]
[4] [*fiftie-six* T.]

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